



सत्यमेव जयते

Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

MAHATMA GANDHI

Volume III

(Parts - I to III Edited by Prof. N. R. Phatak
Parts - IV to VII Edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte)

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

(1920 to 1921)

Volume X

(Edited by : Dr. K. K. Chaudhari)

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State and Government of India Records)

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains total seven parts of Volume III, "Mahatma Gandhi" published within the span of 12 years, that is, from 1965-1977 and Volume X, "Khilafat Movement (1920-1921)" published in 1991. First three parts of Volume III were edited by Prof. N.R. Phatak, and the rest four parts were edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte; where as, Volume X was edited by Dr. K.K.Chaudhari.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 31 March 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

PREFACE

IN January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of a History of Freedom Movement in India. In order to secure the material on which a history should be based, the Board requested the State Governments to set up Committees for the purpose of collecting within their regions such material as may be useful in the preparation of an account of the struggle for freedom which may be said to have begun after the loss of that freedom and which ended with the achievement of Independence on 15 August 1947. The Government of Bombay accordingly set up in November 1953 the 'Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India'.

The Government of Bombay threw open to the Committee all its records and files, including Confidential and Secret files, in all departments, covering the period up to 1947. As it was the desire of the Central Board of Editors that the work of collecting material should be completed as soon as possible, the efforts of the Committee were mainly directed towards obtaining relevant information from the valuable Government documents most of which had never before been accessible to the public.

The Committee decided that the year 1818 which saw the defeat of the last Peshwa should be taken as the starting point of the period for which information had to be gathered. The one hundred and thirty years from 1818 to 1947 naturally lent themselves to the following three divisions :

- (1) 1818-85 (Till the establishment of the Indian National Congress).
- (2) 1885-1920 (Till the starting of the Non-Co-operation Movement).
- (3) 1920-47 (Till the achievement of Independence).

The Committee gathered information bearing on each of these periods confining its attention mostly to what was available in Government files in the Records Office, Police Department and the Home Department of the Secretariat. No attempt was made to explore non-official sources of information excepting few newspapers. Interviews with a few important persons who were directly or indirectly connected with some movement or another in the cause of national regeneration and freedom were taken and statements of most of the persons were recorded. Copies of such material as had all-India importance, were sent to the Board of Editors, New Delhi.

The Central Board of Editors was dissolved in December 1955. But in view of the fact that some material available to the Bombay Committee had still to be scrutinized the tenure of that Committee was extended to 30 September 1956 on which date it was dissolved.

The Committee made a recommendation to the Government that important and suitable extracts from the papers scrutinized by the Committee's Office should be published by the Government so that they could serve as an authentic source material to the students of history who may be interested in the subject. Government were pleased to accept the recommendation and though

the Committee was dissolved on 30 September 1956, the tenure of its office was extended.

The Office of the Committee ceased to be treated as a separate office with effect from December 1, 1972 and the staff sanctioned for that office was transferred to Gazetteers Department. Dr. B. G. Kunte, the Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers Department was made responsible for the completion of pending work relating to the History of Freedom Movement in India.

The first two volumes of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India were published in 1957 and 1958 respectively, the first covering the period from 1818 to 1885 and the second from 1885 to 1920.

Prof. N. R. Phatak took charge of this work as the Executive Secretary in 1958. Under his guidance, the office of the Maharashtra State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, collected voluminous material on different topics such as for the period from 1920 to 1947. But the office mainly concentrated its attention on the material that was lying in the Government records, on Mahatma Gandhi, most of it from Secret and Confidential files, which were not available to students of Gandhiji's life. It was proposed to publish this material first, and the third volume of the source material for a History of Freedom Movement in India was therefore called Mahatma Gandhi Volume. So far this department has published four parts of Volume III.

As at present planned by the Gazetteers Department there will be seven parts in the series. Of these four are published and the fifth part is now being published.

My thanks are due to the Home Department, the Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the Inspector-General of Prisons, the Director and the staff of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology and the Government of Maharashtra for giving all facilities to consult and to use extracts from the confidential records.

My thanks are due to Shri K. K. Chaudhari, M.A., Joint Editor ; Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A., Ph.D. Statistical Officer ; Shri M. H. Ranade, B.A., Superintendent and Shri P. N. Narkhed, M.Com., Smt. N. S. Alawani, B.A., Shri S. K. Khilare, B.Com., LL.B., Smt. M. S. Modikhane, M.A., Shri N. R. Patil, M.Com. and Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A., Research Assistants for their valuable assistance in the preparation and the publication of this volume.

Shri S. A. Sapre, Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay and Shri R. B. Alva, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay, also deserve my special thanks for the execution of the printing work of this volume.

Many are the officials and non-officials without whose help the work would have been difficult. To them all my thanks are due.

B. G. KUNTE
Executive Editor and Secretary

Bombay :
January 30, 1975

INTRODUCTION

THIS is Part V of the Third Volume of the Maharashtra State publication in the series of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in the series of Mahatma Gandhi as depicted in the Government records. The period covered is the year 1932.

Part I of this Volume covers the period from Gandhiji's arrival in India in the year 1915 to 1922. This period, as reflected from the Government records, showed the gradual rise of Gandhiji in the leadership. Part II covers the period from 1922 to 1929, the period during which Mahatmaji was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for six years. The next part i.e. Part III covers the period from 1929 to 1931. This period covers the famous Salt Satyagraha by Mahatmaji at Dandi. Part IV covers the period from 1931 to 1932. This part touches Gandhiji's participation in the Round Table Conference at London, his subsequent return to India and his imprisonment in the Yeravda Central Prison.

The present Volume covers the year 1932 during which Mahatmaji was in prison and had undertaken fast. The period embraces the episode of the fast undertaken by Shri Kellappan and Gandhiji's reactions to the same. Mahatmaji's efforts towards achieving unity amongst Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities are also enumerated in this part. During this period also, Gandhiji had strived hard for the eradication of untouchability, a goal which he cherished throughout his life. Besides Gandhiji's letters, telegrams (regarding the abovementioned subjects), the Volume contains extracts from Home Department files giving comments on the permissions sought by Gandhiji for interviews, etc., and Gandhiji's stubborn fight for establishing the rights of political prisoners.

B. G. KUNTE
Executive Editor and Secretary

HOME DEPARTMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S. D. 6282
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, 1st October 1932

To
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

In confirmation of the orders communicated to you verbally by the Honourable the Home Member, I am directed to inform you that the restrictions on State prisoner M. K. Gandhi's correspondence and interviews, which were temporarily withdrawn during his fast, should be reimposed forthwith.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
1st October
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 201]

3rd October 1932

Dear Mr. Bartlett,

I thank you for your letter enclosing copies of your letter to the Poet and the response from the Fellowship. I am quite sure that the Fellowship is exerting itself in the cause of peace.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To
Percy W. Bartlett, Esq.,
17, Red Lion, Square, London, W. C. I.

3rd October 1932

My Dear Samuel,

I was glad to hear from you. I do not know what I a prisoner can do for you. But if your children will take to the Indian life, it is possible they may be admitted to the Ashram at Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To
Samuel Francis, Esq.,
C/o J. T. Christian, Esq.,
8 Mark Lane, East London,
South Africa.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 257].

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

6th October 1932

Dear Col. Doyle,

I am still anxiously waiting for Government's reply to my letter of the 29th instant addressed to Major Bhandari and forwarded by you, I understand, to the Government. Meanwhile arising out of Sjt. Kellappan's fast in South India I had to send a long telegram to the Zamorin, Calicut, which was referred to the Government and which so far as I am aware, has not still gone to the Zamorin. Now that matter is one of life and death and though Sjt. Kellappan's fast has been suspended at my instance, he is by no means yet out of the wood. And now I am necessarily dragged into it because of my successful intervention. The Zamorin of Calicut is the central figure in this controversy. Sjt. Kellappan's fast is suspended only for three months. There is not therefore much time to be wasted. I should therefore like to know when this telegram will be sent to the Zamorin and whether I am free to carry on correspondence in connection with untouchability. Delay is a matter of great danger and vexation.

It is also highly necessary for me to see some co-workers in this connection. I would therefore like you please to secure early decision from Government in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 265]

(1)

TELEGRAM

Name—A. Rangswami Iyengar.

Address—'Hindu', Madras.

ON STRENGTH MY ADVICE AND ASSURANCE KELLAPPAN HAS BROKEN FAST ONLY TO BE RESUMED IF DURING NEXT THREE MONTHS TEMPLE NOT OPENED EXPECT YOU AND FRIENDS CONCENTRATE ON OPENING TEMPLE.

—GANDHI

(2)

*TELEGRAM**Name*—Zamorin.*Address*—Calicut.

I RECOGNISED THAT KELLAPPAN BEING UNDER DISCIPLINE WAS BOUND RECEIVE MY CONSENT PREVIOUS TO FAST AND WAS BOUND ANY CASE GIVE FAIR NOTICE OF INTENTION FAST THESE DEFECTS BEING POINTED OUT HE HAS BRAVELY RESPONDED AND BROKEN FAST WHICH WILL BE RESUMED IF DURING NEXT THREE MONTHS AFTER SECOND INSTANT TEMPLE NOT OPENED STOP KELLAPPANS ACCEPTANCE MY ADVICE THROWS HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY MY SHOULDERS PERHAPS EVEN EXTENT OF SHARING HIS FAST IF TEMPLE NOT OPENED TO AVARNA HINDUS DURING PERIOD OF SUSPENSION MAY I EXPECT YOU CARRY OUT YOUR ASSURANCE AND OVERCOME ALL DIFFICULTIES LEGAL OR OTHERWISE IN WAY OF LONG DEFERRED REFORM.

—GANDHI

(3)

*TELEGRAM**Name*—Dr. Ansari.*Address*—Care Thos. Cook Son, Paris.

ANTICIPATED YOU BY ISSUING APPEAL HINDU-MUSLIM-SIKH UNTTY.

—GANDHI

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part HI, pp. 265-66*]

(4)

*TELEGRAM**Name*—Mouiana Shaukat Ali.*Address*—Khilafat Office, Bombay.

AM DELIGHTED YOU HAVE POSTPONED YOUR AMERICAN VISIT IT WILL BE GLORIOUS DAY WHEN SOLID HINDU-MUSLIM-SIKH UNITY IS ACHIEVED REST WILL FOLLOW AS DAY FOLLOWS NIGHT LOVE IF YOU WILL SEARCH DILIGENTLY YOU WILL STILL FIND ME IN YOUR POCKET.

—GANDHI

To

Joint Hon. Secretaries,
Friends of India, 46, Lancaster Gate,
London, W. 2.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 229*]

C/o ABDULLA HAROON JAFFER ESQ.,

Saifi Lane (East Street)

Poona, 8th October 1932

My Dear Mahatmaji,

I am in receipt of your post-card of the 6th instant, and note that you intend replying in 2 to 3 days to my long letter of the 23rd ultimo.

Meanwhile, as advised in your post-card referred to above, I approached the Home Member, but from the conversation I had with him, it appears that the authority for granting an interview rests with the Government of India, and as I do not wish to go to that length, I have kept back the question of Shri Baba's message pending further instructions from him, and am enclosing herewith copy of publicity matter referred to in the last paragraph of my letter to you dated the 23rd ultimo, for your perusal, correction and approval, before it is submitted) for publication in the press. You are at liberty to make any addition or alteration in it, as you may deem fit.

I may add that Shri Baba himself is averse to all publicity as usual, but as the demand from the press and the public is pressing, and again as it is very necessary to clear all misunderstandings already existing in the minds of the public through distorted reports that have already appeared in papers, and also considering your own suggestion in the matter, we have deemed it advisable to publish a short account of Shri Baba's interviews with societies, press and public in Europe and in America during his tours in the West, as well as an account of your meetings and talks with him on spiritual subjects— which the press consider as a matter of special significance and importance.

But for unavoidable circumstances as you can well realize, I would never have given you this trouble for which you will kindly excuse.

Requesting the favour of your kindly returning the papers at your earliest convenience, as the other press matter is also withheld for this.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) F. H. DADACHANJI

P.S.—

I am leaving here tomorrow, so you will please address all correspondence c/o. Sarosh Motor Works Ltd., Nasik.

(Sd.) F. H. D.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, pp. 231, 233]

Extract from the ' publicity matter' referred to in Mr. F. H. Dadachanji's letter, dated the 8th October 1932

BOMBAY MEETING

Earlier on the night of his arrest, Baba saw Gandhiji at Mani Bhuvan at about 11-45, and talked for about an hour.

- B. I have been very busy the whole day, but I had to come to you.
- G. If you had not come, it would have been my life-long grievance against you.
- B. Your arrest is imminent. I could not take chances of further delay. Hence I am here tonight, though at such a late hour. G. It is kind of you to come. You know I could not have come to you being surrounded by people who are so very excited. B. It would be much better for you to see the Viceroy again. The excitement will subside, and situation will become much easier to handle.
- G. I too want to go, but he (the Viceroy) lays down conditions impossible for me to comply with. The question of Ordinances is a tabooed subject, while from viewpoint, it is the main issue, and the very basis of my arguments.
- B. But in spite of it all, in order to curb the excitement and to prevent the situation developing into violence it is better to see the Viceroy. When once violence gets the upper hand the situation will be simply uncontrollable.
- G. There is that possibility, but we are not counting without that. We have been advocating and preaching non-violence even when at war, and the result rests with the Almighty.
- B. Under any circumstances, India is destined to suffer still more, I have said the same before and I repeat it today. But eventually this suffering will prove a blessing in disguise. The more India suffers materially, the better it is from the spiritual standpoint. I look to the spiritual benefit alone. If India were to achieve Self-Government without struggle and sufferings, it would involve a greater risk of being inclined towards materialism, and this would ultimately prove a hindrance and an obstacle towards the spiritual advancement. This danger must be guarded against.
- G. You are right, spiritual strength must accompany material power and therein lies the real greatness. What do you think of the West ?
- B. In America, the spiritual hunger is intense, and that is why I stayed there for a month. From the material point of view, there is everything there that could be expected wealth, brains and the heart with

a latent longing for Truth. And this connotes sufficient preparedness for spiritual growth and development. Under proper guidance and direction, I am sure, they would respond wonderfully. G. And what about England?

B. They also have interest and longing for spirituality, but not as intense as the Americans. The latter would not allow me to go back to India. They have exacted a promise from me to return.

G. In case I am arrested, I hope you will have an eye over the affairs here.

B. I am shortly going to end all this struggle for Self-Government spiritually, provided you agree to come with me to America when all this settled.

G. I promise to do so if the whole thing gets adjusted as I wish it to be.

Hearing about the talk of a promise, Messrs. Vallabhbhai and others who were standing at a little distance, became at once interested and one of them said, 'Bapuji, you are giving promises : but have you thought about us ? Are you not going to take our opinion in the matter ?'

G. When this struggle is once settled, what else is left for us to do. Then it would be a question between him (Meher Baba) and me. I have already promised. Yes, only when the struggle ends. Oh, for the sight of that blessed day ! (To Baba) I suppose you will be going to Nasik now.

B. Yes, Nasik.

G. Then I have one request to make. I know you can influence the Depressed Qasses as you have been working for their uplift. Dr. Ambedkar personally is very considerate and reasonable, and if a personality like you can persuade him to view the question of Depressed classes from a broader outlook of national unity and the consequent moral and spiritual strength accruing therefrom, I am sure he would accept the joint electorates, and save seventy millions of our brethren from drifting away from the religious fold for paltry political gain at the cost of national disintegration. I am sure he (Dr. Ambedkar) will listen to you.

B. I will do my best. I do not want this stigma of untouchability to remain attached to Depressed Qasses for ever, for the removal of which, I am also working spiritually; and the result is bound to come in due course.

The meeting ended with a hearty embrace between Gandhiji and Meher Baba.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 235]

FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION

It must be noted that at no stage during Shri Baba's meetings and talks with Gandhiji was there any mention, from either of them, of a 'Guru-Chela' (Master-Disciple) relationship between them, and all the distorted reports in papers that have already appeared in papers in the West particularly, and referring or pointing to such relationship are either due to grave misunderstanding, gross ignorance or intentional distortion on part of reporters or publishers and necessitate immediate correction.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, pp. 223, 224]

9th October 1932

(1)

Dear Dr. Mahmud,

I have your two letters the only ones to be received by me. I hope you had my note sent thro' Kamala. Tell the 4 year old dame that she was forgiven for not completing her fast. Prayers of little ones are better than their fasts. Who knows but that it was such prayers that were answered. Well, the whole time the fast was on, I was thinking too of the Hindu-Muslim question and asking God to give me light. How I wish your Maulana Abul Kalam's and Malaviyaji's efforts fructified: It would be a grand day if we could achieve not a paper but a heart unity.

I am glad your wife and sisters are better. You too must be well now or you must have a compulsory fast for regaining health.

My salams to both the Maulanas.

Love from us all.

(Sd.) BAPU

(2)

9th October 1932

To

Dr. Syed Mahmud

Dear Friend,

No need whatsoever for apology. I hope you received my previous letter in reply to your earlier letter.

There are insurmountable difficulties about adopting the way you suggest. As a prisoner I am not free to discuss them. But if it was open to me to discuss them, I think you would be convinced of the soundness of my reason. But this I can say that no one can be more eager than I am to see peace established between the Government and the people or the Congress.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

Sjt. C. Y. Chintamani,
' The Leader ' Office, Allahabad.

(3)

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

9th October 1932

Dear Gurudev,

I have your beautiful letter. I am daily seeking light. This unity between Hindus and Muslims is also life's mission. The restrictions too hamper me. But I know that when I have the light, it will pierce through the restrictions. Meanwhile I pray though I do not yet fast.

I have you were none the worse for the strenuous work in Poona and equally fatiguing journey.

Mahadev translated for us your beautiful sermon to the villagers on 20th ultimo.

With love.

Yours

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

Shri Gurudev,
' Santiniketan', Bengal.

(4)

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

9th October 1932

Dear Friends,

I thank you for your letter of sympathy. The funds can be sent to the anti-untouchability association formed under the chairmanship of Sjt. G. D. Birla for the furtherance of its objects.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 273]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S. D. 5405

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 10th October 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.
Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. S.D. 6386, dated the 8th instant, I am directed to inform you that the telegrams addressed to Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Madras, and the Zamorin, Calicut, may be allowed to go on, but the one intended for Dr. M. A. Ansari should be withheld. The three telegrams are returned herewith in original.

2. As regards the telegram addressed to Mr. Shaukat Ali, I am to say that a further communication will be made to you in due course regarding its disposal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE, Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, 10th October.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 197]

R. No. S. D. 8850

10th October 1932

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

EXPRESS LETTER

No. D. 7985/32-Poll.
Dated 7th October 1932

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Reference your letter No. S. D., 6275 of the 30th September 1932.

Government of India would be glad to receive as early as possible views of Government of Bombay on position regarding interviews with Gandhi as it stands at present. Government of Bombay have announced that special facilities will be allowed for attendance of Mrs. Gandhi while Gandhi is convalescent, and Government of India fully approve of this and any other similar temporary relaxations of normal rules on these grounds.

2. With regard to untouchability, we gather that reasonable latitude is being given, and with regard to interviews of a directly political nature, that reference will be made to us, if Government of Bombay are disposed to think that any particular interview might be allowed.

(Sd.) M. G. HALLET,

Secretary to the Government of India.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, pp. 283-85*]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

EXPRESS LETTER

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

No. D-8145/32-Poll.

Dated the 11th October 1932

Your Express Letter No. 6385, dated 8th October 1932. For reasons given in paragraph 2 of our telegram No. 2260, dated 9th October, the telegram from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Shaukat Ali should not be passed for transmission.

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT,

Secretary to the Government of India.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Orders withholding the telegram from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Shaukat Ali have already been passed and communicated to the Inspector-General of Prisons—please see on, dated 10th October 1932 and Government letter, No. S. D. 6406 of the same date fine.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 301*]

KARIM NAGAR,

H. E. H. NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

October 11, 1932

My Dear Bapu,

It was more than good of you to send me two post-cards, one just before your fast began and one the very day after interviews were stopped. The latter helped to make-up a little for the disappointment of not seeing you. The visit to Poona was worth while, though, in that I saw Devdas and Pyare Lal and was fortunate enough to stay at C. S. S. and make the acquaintance of some of the friends there.

Now I don't want to waste your time by chattering about all sorts of subjects today, but there is one subject which has been worrying the minds of some of my friends here who 'three-quarters-believe' in you. That is a sentence in your message to South India—where you say, 'I say without the slightest hesitation that God will be installed in the idol of the temples only if they are thrown open unreservedly to the outcasts'. I gathered when with you on the Piona that you did not believe in idols for yourself, and so cannot explain this expression myself, and would be grateful if you would do so. One explanation that has occurred to me is that the English 'Message' which was in the paper may be a translation of Hindi or some other language and the best word has not been found for the word you used.

I trust you are now quite strong again, and that Devadas also is still improving in health. It gave me quite a shock to see how thin he was.

My love and 'Nemasthes' to you, Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) (F.) MARY (Barr)

P.S.—

The few girls who were left in school during our recent Michaelmas holiday got up a little drama during my absence and asked to give it on Friday night. They finished it about 7.35 and remembered, quite on their own, to sing 'Lead Kindly Light' and have prayer before the audience dispersed.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, pp. 285-86]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 9628 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 12th October 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prison,
Bombay Presidency, Poona

Sir,

I have the honour to state that so far while censoring the correspondence of State Prisoner, M. K. Gandhi, I have been withholding letters in which there was any direct or indirect reference to the Civil Disobedience Movement or Politics in general. In view of Government letter No. S.D. 6406, Home Department (Political), dated 10th October 1932, directing me to withhold telegram addressed to Mr. Shaukat Ali by Mr. Gandhi, I would like to have more detailed instructions on this matter. I would like to be told

whether letters discussing points about untouchability and Hindu-Muslim differences, should be delivered to Mr. Gandhi and whether similar letters from him should be allowed to go on.

Against as long as greater facilities are given for interviews, the letter can be withheld but the subject-matter of such letters is likely to come to the knowledge of the public. Mrs. Gandhi stays with Mr. Gandhi for a good few hours every day and probably hears and takes part in conversation on these subjects. It is likely that she may repeat this sort of conversation outside inadvertently. Again Mr. Gandhi's son Devidas and for the last two days his other son Mr. Manilal have had interview practically every day. It is possible that they may repeat outside to their friends what they have been talking to their father. I do not suggest that Mr. Gandhi is intentionally sending out messages through his relations. I contend that with the present interview facilities it is likely that matters which Government do not want to be discussed by the public will get into newspapers as pointed out above. An example of this kind is the telegram for Mr. Shaukat Ali which has been withheld but which has already been published in Newspapers.

Again in my opinion neither it is possible nor I presume it is Government's intention that all the time while Mrs, Gandhi and her sons are in the yard that a Jail Official should be on the watch.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 928 of 1932.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 12th October 1932

F. W. C. to the Secretary, H. D., for favour of definite orders on the points raised being issued.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Submitted :

2. I think the situation is almost impossible but there it is while the interviews with close relatives are allowed as they are at present matters which would be stopped in correspondence will get through orally. The Superintendent may be told to send any letters, i.e., about which he has any doubt to Government.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
12th October

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 287]

I have received a letter from Mr. Devidas taking on himself the blame for the Shaukat Ali telegram and apologising. I do not think it will occur again.

2. Letters to Mr. Gandhi touching on the questions of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim differences may be delivered to him—letters from him had better be sent up to us for the present. If they are at all objectionable, we will withhold them and warn him that we are so doing.

(Sd.) W. F. HADSON
13th October

Inspector-General of Prisons may see under order. He will issue instructions to the Superintendent.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE,
13th October

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 291]

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

D. O. No. S. 2782-Poll.
Simla, the 12th October 1932

My Dear Clee,

In my first letter No. D/8145-Poll. of the 11th instant we stated that, for the reasons given in paragraph 2 of our telegram No. 2260 of the 9th October, the telegram from Mr. Gandhi to Maulana Shaukat Ali should not be passed for transmission. It appears, however, to have leaked out, for an A. P. I. message from Bombay, dated October 10th, which is published in the *Hindustan Times* of the 12th of October and probably in other papers, has reproduced in almost exactly the same words the telegram sent with your letter of the 8th of October. The Government of India would be glad if the Government of Bombay will consider what steps can be taken to prevent leakages of this kind. Presumably a copy of the telegram was handed to one of Mr. Gandhi's visitors or possibly it was merely communicated verbally. It appears desirable that some measures should be taken forthwith to prevent a similar publication of correspondence which, in the opinion of the Government of India, it is undesirable to issue.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT

C. B. B. Clee, Esq., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 289]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 930 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 14th October 1932

MEMORANDUM

With reference to his letter No. 9628, dated 12th October 1932. The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison is informed that letters *to* Mr. Gandhi touching on the question of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim differences may be delivered to him. Letters *from* him should be sent to Government for orders regarding disposal.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

[True copy]

(Sd.) S. R. CHAUBAL,
Personal Assistant
to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 241]

YERAVDA MANDIR

15th October 1932

My Dear Rangaswamy,

I hope you got my wire two or three days ago. It was handed in by me on 3rd instant but was delayed by the authorities pending instructions from the Government of India. I enclose copy of my wire to the Zamorin. You will see therefore that there is not much time to lose if the temple is to be opened in the due time. I hope therefore that you and the friends you mentioned will quickly move in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

Shri A. Rangaswamy Iyengar,
The 'Hindu', Madras.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 243]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

15th October 1932

Dear Friend,

The wire which I handed in on 3rd instant was considered by the authorities and released for despatch only three days ago. I hope you duly received it. I trust that you will please move in the matter and ensure the opening of the temple during the period of suspension.

I do not know the proper style of addressing you. If therefore there is any want of propriety, you will please instruct me, knowing it to be wholly unintended.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

The Zamorin, Calicut

P.S.—

For the sake of ensuring accuracy I enclose copy of my wire.

(Sd.) M. K. G.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 307]

THE VICTORIA CHEMICAL & MANUFACTURING WORKS

Karachi, 15th October 1932.

Mahatma Gandhiji,
C/o Superintendent, Yeravda Jail,
Yeravda, Poona.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I respectfully beg to bring to your kind information a resolution passed by Karachi Municipality under the Presidentship and guidance of Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta that the future candidates for election as members to the Municipality should deposit a sum of Rs. 250 before their being nominated. This resolution is no doubt brought to bar the members of the depressed classes who are proverbially poor and cannot boast of even in possession of a few coins leave alone the sum of Rs. 250 from entering the Municipality as councillors. This resolution has been brought at a time when the welfare of the depressed classes should be in the forefront with all the lovers of our motherland as it has been with you for many years now. If this resolution is not rescinded the entry of the depressed classes as councillors which most of us have at heart will end in nothing but a mere farce. Some gentlemen here like Sjt. Manilal Vyas are doing their best to have this resolution rescinded but as it is very doubtful whether their attempt will bear fruit, I appeal to you to use your benign influence in advising in the matter

Mr. Jamshed who had always been your faithful chela. I am quite sure that a word from you will weigh greatly with the city fathers here leading to the cancellation of the resolution and thus permitting members of the depressed classes who are many of them not wanting an intelligent to stand for nomination.

Hoping you will pardon me for intruding upon your precious time, I remain,
most humbly yours in the service of motherland,
(Sd.) RAMCHAND S. BALRY, C/o The Victoria Chemical and
Manufacturing Works, Karachi.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 295]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 6551

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 17th October 1932

Please refer to your demi-official letter No. S. 2782-Poll. of the 12th October regarding the leakage of the contents of the telegram from Mr. Gandhi to Maulana Shaukat Ali.

This Government had already noticed that the telegram appeared almost word for word in the press, but Devidas Gandhi, who has been allowed daily interviews with his father in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India subsequently wrote to the Honourable the Home Member taking on himself the blame for the leakage and apologising. It is thought unlikely that he will again abuse the privilege afforded him, but he has been warned that if such an incident occurs against the family interviews will have to be stopped.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
17th October

The Honourable Mr. M. G. Hallett, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department (Political).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 221]

CONFIDENTIAL

Home Member's Note

We are allowing Dr. Ambedkar to see Mr. Gandhi about untouchability and also Mrs. Naidu, and no one need to present. But the Superintendent should be asked to inform Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar that although Government are permitting them discussions, they can't allow any reports

of them to find their way into the press or any manifestos to be issued by Mr. Gandhi. Dr. Ambedkar is of course at liberty to inform his friends of the purport of the discussions but he is not to quote Mr. Gandhi at public meetings. Unless these conditions are strictly observed, no further interviews can be permitted.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON
7th October

I. G. Prisons.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 215]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
18th October 1932

Dear Mr. Hudson,

You will, I hope, pardon this presumption.

The restriction you conveyed to Dr. Ambedkar and me in connection with his interview, I had no difficulty in understanding from the Government standpoint. It was faithfully carried out, and so far as I am concerned I shall breath not a word to the public about it. But the threat conveyed at the end of your note was, I think, gratuitously offensive. You said that if either of us did not carry out the restriction, all such future interviews would be stopped. So far as I am concerned, it is easy enough for you to verify that I have meticulously observed the prison regulations. And the threat presupposes that such interviews are a concession, whereas in my opinion they are the necessary consequence of the Yeravda Pact. Surely untouchability reform should be, if it is not, common cause between the Government and the people. Again a prison was assuredly not the place to spring upon Dr. Ambedkar, a free man, restrictions accompanied by a threat of which he was not informed in the telegram acceding to his request for an interview with Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and me.

May I in this personal note ask now for a definite reply to my letter of the 29th ultimo addressed to Major Bhandari and forwarded to the Home Department ? In view of your said memorandum, a clear definition of the Government policy has become doubly necessary. I hold it to be essential that I should be permitted to see people and carry on correspondence, strictly regarding untouchability, without let or hindrance. You may know that my fast is only suspended. It has to be resumed if the Hindu public do not play the game by the Harijans. My contact with the public therefore is inevitable if the reform is to be carried out in all its thoroughness. Sjt. A. V. Thakkar, the Secretary of the newly formed League, has already asked for instructions. I have informed him that I am awaiting clear definition of Government policy before I could send any instructions. I would therefore esteem an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 223]

CONFIDENTIAL

3, QUEEN'S GARDENS
Poona, 20th October 1932

My Pear Doyle,

With reference to Mr. Gandhi's letter of September 29th to Major Bhandari and his letter to me of October 19th (copies enclosed for ready reference) will you kindly inform him that Government are prepared to allow him a reasonable number of interviews (with persons approved by them) in regard to untouchability. Similarly correspondence on this subject will be allowed, provided it is clearly understood that it is not reproduced in the public press.

As regards the first paragraph of his letter to me, will you remind him that as a result of one of his interviews the telegram to Mr. Shaukat Ali, which had not been passed Cor transmission, found its way into the newspapers.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON

Lt.-Col. E. E. DOYLE, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Issued 20th October 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 309]

Brother Jamshed,

What does this letter mean ? I have not replied to the writer. May I ask you about it ? If you will write to me, I will send a reply to the writer.

Hope Kikiben is getting well.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

21st October 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 227]

URGENT

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
24th October 1932.

Dear Col. Doyle,

Your communication regarding my request for a definition of Government policy about my interviewing friends and carrying on correspondence in the matter of untouchability and another matter was read to me by Major Bhandari this morning. I was allowed to make a copy of it.

According to the communication, ' Government are prepared to allow me a reasonable number of interviews (with persons approved by them) ', and to carry on correspondence, ' provided it is clearly understood that it is not reproduced in the press.'

It is clear to me that Government could not be aware that my fast is only suspended and that it may have to be resumed if the work of removal of untouchability is not thoroughly done. Moreover, so far as a temple in the South is concerned, I might be obliged to join Sjt. Kellappan in his fast, if by or before the 2nd of January next that temple is not opened to the so-called untouchables. This the Government has known. Three weeks have already passed without my being able to do much work, apart from being permitted after long delay to send two telegrams. Despatch and publicity are essential, if I am to overtake the work of reform in due time. Every day counts. I therefore submit that all restrictions on the choice of visitors and publication of correspondence should be removed. I can have no objection to the presence of an official or officials at the interviews and inspection there and then of correspondence. If assistance is supplied to me, the Government may have copies of all correspondence and short-hand notes of interviews. Naturally these interviews and correspondence should have no reference to civil disobedience and must be strictly limited to the removal of untouchability.

Unless therefore these restrictions, as submitted above, are removed, before the 1st November next, I shall be reluctantly obliged to withdraw, subject to the limitations imposed by the law of satyagraha, such co-operation as is possible for me to do. And as a preliminary, I shall deny myself all the feeding facilities permitted to me and restrict myself to such 'C' class diet as I can within my vow consistently take and so long as my body can accommodate itself to such food. I do hope the Government will not regard this as a threat. The contemplated step is the natural consequence of the Government attitude. I can have no interest in life if I cannot prosecute, without let or hindrance, work for which the fast was undertaken and suspended. I would have said nothing if this moral and religious reform had anything to do with civil disobedience.

With reference to my personal letter to the Honourable Mr. Hudson, the reply comes upon me as a painful surprise. If the warning read out to me at the interview with Dr. Ambedkar was by way of punishment for what I am alleged to have done regarding the telegram to Maulana Shaukat Ali, common justice even to a prisoner demanded that the cause of the punishment should have been conveyed to me at the time of the warning, and before the punishment was pronounced explanation should have been called for from me. I never knew that a prisoner could be condemned unheard. Nor had I the remotest idea that the letter to my son which I had seen was intended to convey any warning to me. Let me say that my son told me definitely in official presence that Mr. Hudson had in a generous manner not only quickly granted him permission to see me as often as he liked but that he had permitted him to talk to me about anything and carry any messages from me so long as he gave no interviews to the press and published nothing. In view of this conversation I saw nothing wrong in asking my son to tell Mr. Shaukat Ali that I had seen his wire and that I had replied to it, and

that he was likely to receive the reply in the course of a day, or two, the delay being due to the fact that it had gone to the Government for being passed. I had not then the remotest idea that the utterly innocent telegram would not be passed. I did therefore give my son also the purport of the reply. Let me however correct two mis-statements in the paragraph of your communication regarding this matter. I had no knowledge at the time of talking to my son that the telegram had not been passed for transmission. Nor is it correct to say that the text of the reply has been published in the press. What I have seen is only the substance. I did not give my son a copy of the reply. I add that my son out of nobility of his nature wrote a gentlemanly letter to Mr. Hudson regretting that Maulana Shaukat Ali had published his conversation with him in spite of his caution. He had expected a letter of thanks in reply for his frankness but unfortunately he received a reprimand, and he remained quiet under it. I should be sorry if after this very full explanation Mr. Hudson does not revise his opinion and think that as man to man he has done me a grave injustice.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

P.S.—

Since it is obviously impossible for me to guarantee non-publication by my correspondents, known and unknown, of letters I may write to them, whilst the bar referred to lasts, I have to suspend what correspondence on untouchability I have hitherto carried on. I am entitled therefore to ask that a reply to this matter be sent as early as possible before the 31st instant.

(Sd.) M. K. G.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 235]

CONFIDENTIAL

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 6755, dated the 28th October 1932

From

Bombay Special, Poona ;

To

Home, New Delhi.

Reference correspondence ending with my Express Letter No. S.D. 6432, dated the 14th instant. The attached representation, dated 24th October has been received from Mr. Gandhi. It will be seen that he demands that all existing restrictions on his interviews and correspondence in so far as they relate to the question of the removal of untouchability should be withdrawn before the 1st November and that failing such withdrawal he declares his intention to deny himself, as a preliminary, all the special feeding facilities

permitted to him and to restrict himself to such ' C ' class diet as he can within his vow consistently take so long as his body can accommodate itself to such food. The Inspector-General of Prisons states that he will not be able to eat ' C ' class diet for very long without making himself ill.

In this connection copy of Mr. Gandhi's letter dated the 18th October to the Honourable the Home Member, together with copy of the Honourable Member's note therein referred to is enclosed. In reply to the letter of the 18th, Mr. Gandhi was informed, in accordance with the decisions arrived at in personal conference with His Excellency the Viceroy in Poona on October 16th, that Government were prepared to allow him a reasonable number of interviews (with persons approved by them) in regard to untouchability and that similarly correspondence on this subject would be allowed provided it was clearly understood that it would not be reproduced in the press Mr. Gandhi was also reminded that as a result of one of his interviews the telegram to Mr. Shaukat Ali, which had not been passed for transmission found its way into the newspapers (see in this connection my letter No. S.D. 6551, of 17th instant).

Since Dr. Ambedkar's visit no one has applied for an interview with regard to untouchability. This Government are of opinion that the existing orders should not be altered.
(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 331]

28th October 1932

TELEGRAM

To

Ghanshyamdas Birla,
Birla Mills, Delhi.

LETTERS AND YOUR WIRE RECEIVED. GOVERNMENT IMPOSED ON CORRESPONDENCE CONDITIONS WHICH DEFEAT OBJECT AND ARE PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE CARRY OUT. AM CARRYING ON CORRESPONDENCE WITH THEM ABOUT SAME.

GANDHI

[The above telegram was withheld under the orders of H. D.]

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 343]

31st October 1932

TELEGRAM

ALLAHABAD

MAHATMA GANDHI PRISONER, POONA, Y IN YOUR LAMENTABLE ABSENCE. WE DOING BEST TO ACHIEVE PAPER IF NOT

HEART UNITY STOP SITUATION RIPE YOUR PRESENCE WOULD HAVE SOLVED
DIFFICULTIES SEND YOUR BLESSINGS AND GOOD WISHES.

—SYED MAHMUD

[The above telegram was withheld under the orders of H. D.]

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 239]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 10255 of 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 31st October 1932

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from State Prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to me for your information.

I had a talk with him on this subject and told him that Jawari and Bajri bread is not likely to agree with him and that he may get ill. He gave the replies in writing (today being his silence day), which are also enclosed herewith.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 245]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

31st October 1932

Dear Major Bhandari,

As the Government have not granted the relief sought in my letter to Col. Doyle of the 24th instant and unless it comes in the course of the day, the progressive non-co-operation adumbrated in that letter will commence from to-morrow.

As stated in that letter, I shall begin by denying myself the special food issued to me. Will you kindly therefore have the goat's milk stopped as from tomorrow ? Besides this, just now I am only drawing sour limes and vegetables in common with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and sometimes taking a little brown bread from Sjt. Mahadev Desai's ration. Sardar Vallabhbhai sends for the limes and vegetables and I have asked him not to send for my portion. In lieu of this, I shall take, for the time being, and if they are issued to me, the morning *kanji* and the noon, and the afternoon *bhakri* out of the ' C' class rations. I may not take anything else from the ' C' class rations, as I can only take during any twenty-four hours five ingredients besides salt, soda and water. The vegetables and salt generally issued to ' C' class prisoners contain more than three or four ingredients. These therefore I may not take. I do not propose to take anything specially prepared for special ' C' class prisoners.

As a large amount of correspondence on untouchability, some of which is very important, has accumulated, and requires answering with a view to publication, I think that it is incumbent upon Government either to publish my correspondence with Government in the matter or to inform the public in any other manner Government may choose, of my request and their refusal to accede to it.

It is needless to add that I have scrupulously avoided, either directly or indirectly, the leakage of any information about the correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

H. M. and H. E. have seen.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE

1st November

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 59*]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 7123

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Bombay Castle, 1st November 1932

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, CLE., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 144, dated the 15th instant, I am directed to inform you that the special concessions asked for by Mr. Gandhi in connection with the illness of prisoner Dahyabhai Patel may be granted.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,

1st November,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 249]

1. I do not want dysentery but if it is inevitable I should go through it. At the first sign of dysentery I shall stop all food.

2. In any case I do not propose to take food for any length of time. The non-co-operation has to be progressive. I cannot live and not work for the removal of untouchability. I am adopting a course that will cause the least inconvenience to the Government. But if the Government would rather that I died than that they permitted me to do untouchability work I cannot help it.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 255]

SECRET

TELEGRAM

No. 2426, dated the 1st November 1932

From

Home, New Delhi;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Your letter October 28th forwarding important letters from Gandhi, dated October 18th and October 24th reached us only yesterday. We are after full consideration recommending to His Majesty's Government that Gandhi should be allowed complete freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly confined to removal of untouchability and that there should be no restrictions on publicity. Conditions suggested by Gandhi himself about right to have officials present at interviews and inspection of correspondence would be accepted though it might not be necessary to enforce them.

2. Meantime we regard it as of the utmost importance that in these conditions Gandhi should not start restriction of his diet. Please therefore inform him immediately that his letters only reached the Government of India yesterday, that the matter is under closest consideration and that we hope to communicate decision within two or three days. Meanwhile suggest it might complicate situation if he started restriction of diet before we have had opportunity of fully considering his requests.

3. Please report action taken by Gandhi on receipt of this communication.

[True Copy]

Assistant Superintendent,

H. D. (Spl.).

1st November 1932

Received in H. D. (Spl.), at 2-55 p.m. on 1st November 1932.

Decoded at 4-30 p.m.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.)

H. M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 257]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Secretary's Note

H. E. has seen the Government of India, telegram and the two draft communications to Gandhi which follows :

1. Mr. Gandhi is to be informed that his letter of the 24th October reached the Government of India only on the 31st October that the subject-matter thereof is under the closest consideration of the Government of India and that they hope to communicate a decision in two or three days. In the meantime the Government of India suggest that Mr. Gandhi might not start restriction of his diet before they have had an opportunity of fully considering his request.

2. Mr. Gandhi is to be informed that his letter of the 24th October reached the Government of India only on the 31st October, that the Government of India have represented the matter to His Majesty's Government, and hope to communicate a decision in two or three days and that they suggest that it would ease matters if Mr. Gandhi reconsidered his decision to restrict his diet pending final decision.

H. E. would hope to issue No. 1, to Mr. Gandhi if H. M. thinks that No. 1 does not say enough to render it likely that Mr. Gandhi will go back

to his special diet. H. E. would agree to the communication being made in the form of No. 2.

The attached telegram has been sent to the Government of India.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
1st November

H. M. agreed that No. 1 should be sent.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
1st November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 261]

SECRET

TELEGRAM

No. 191, dated 1st November 1932
HOME, NEW DELHI

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 2426, dated 1st November 1932.....Gandhi restricted his diet from this morning.....Your memo conveyed to him and his decision will be telegraphed to you tomorrow.

Bombay Special
1st November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 263]

SECRET

TELEGRAM

No. 192, dated 2nd November 1932
HOME, NEW DELHI

Clear-the-Line—

Reference your secret telegram No. 2426, dated 1st November 1932, following action according to instructions in paragraph 2 thereof Gandhi has suspended restriction in his diet and has given long telegram for transmission to Government of India. This is being telegraphed to you.

Bombay Special
2nd November

H. E. (P. S. G.).

Copy to:—

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 267]

URGENT

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

2nd November 1932

Dear Major Bhandari,

With reference to Government of India message handed to me by you last night I enclose herewith a reply which I request may be sent as an express wire. As you will gather from the wire I have already suspended the restriction on my diet and partaken of my usual food. If it is at all possible, I suggest that this wire to the Government of India may not await the opening of the office of the Inspector-General of Prisons.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 277]

EXPRESS LETTER

To

Home Secretary,
Government of India, New Delhi.

Your message was delivered to me ten O'clock last night Stop It is painful surprise to me that my letter of 24th ultimo should have reached Government 31st not so much because prospective fast therein adumbrated involved prisoners life as because fast covered matter highest urgency and directly arising out of Yeravda Pact endorsed by His Majesty's Government Stop In view however of this unfortunate delay and in view of assurance and suggestion contained in your message I have suspended restriction on diet which commenced yesterday Stop I trust my letter of 31st ultimo addressed to Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison was repeated to you Stop when he came to me to understand implications of the letter I told him that if I did not get relief within four days from first instant among other things I might be obliged to stop food altogether Stop This I mention to convey to Government some idea of intensity of my feeling Stop Almost daily I am getting letters about untouchability from reformers and reactionaries demanding immediate attention and reply designed for publication Stop A matter in which millions of people have to be influenced cannot be handled by private correspondence under ban of publication Stop I have letters and telegram from recently formed All-India Anti-Untouchability League asking for immediate guidance and advice as to method of work Stop I have most important letter from Calicut demanding immediate reply and request from untouchable friends seeking emergent interview Stop Knowing this and knowing that my life is a stake in Anti-Untouchability campaign

Government will appreciate my readiness and desire to forfeit it if in this matter I am not to be allowed full and unfettered facilities as requested in my letter Stop A prisoner has no other honourable outlet from an intolerable and soulkilling position Stop.

7 a.m. 2nd November

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

2nd November 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 283]

SECRET

TELEGRAM

No. 2440, dated the 2nd November 1932

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Continuation, Home Department, telegram No. 2426, November 1st. Secretary of State has approved our proposals. Please communicate following to Gandhi immediately as from Government of India.

Begins :—

'Government of India recognise in view of considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters of October 18th and October 24th that if he is to carry out programme that he has set before himself in regard to removal of untouchability which they had not before fully appreciated it is necessary that he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability. They also recognise that if Mr. Gandhi's activities in this matter are to be fully effective there can be no restriction on publicity. As they do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with problem of untouchability they are removing all restrictions on visitors, correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words "have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly limited to removal of untouchability ". They note that Mr. Gandhi contemplates presence of official at interviews and inspection then and there of correspondence should Government at any time consider that such procedure is desirable." Ends. (A) 2. [We regard it as important that no public statement should be made which would suggest any change of policy. Gandhi's letters and our communication to him remain of course strictly confidential and it is most desirable if possible that no news of restriction of diet should leak out. The situation appears to call for no statement]. We have always said that reasonable facilities would be given to Gandhi for discussion of untouchability problem, and in fact no interview on the subject

has been refused. We are widening these facilities. This will become known gradually by observation of results.

3. Please telegraph action taken by Gandhi on receipt of communication.

[True Copy]

Assistant Superintendent,

H. D. (Spl.).

Received in H. D. (Spl.) at 17-45 hrs. on 2nd November 1932.

Decoded at 19-25 hrs. on 2nd November 1932.

Copies to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.).

H. M.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE.

2nd November

Note.—(1) Secretary communicated copy to I. G. Prisons on night of 2nd November 1932 for communication of G. of I's message to Mr. Gandhi on 3rd morning. (2) H. M. has taken action personally in regard to 'A' of para. 2 of above telegram.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 289]

Home Secretary,

Government of India, New Delhi.

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison has just conveyed Government of India's decision on my correspondence and request therein regarding untouchability Stop The decision I gratefully acknowledge gives me all facilities I had hoped for and I could possibly have expected Stop I recognise fully graceful manner in which Government propose to trust me to carry out both letter and spirit of my undertaking that neither these interviews nor this correspondence shall have any reference to civil disobedience or matters outside removal of untouchability Stop This trust shall never be abused Gandhi.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

3rd November 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 295]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 2454, dated the 3rd November 1932

From

Home, New Delhi;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 193 of the 2nd November. Please telegraph whether Gandhi's letter of the 31st October, which is being forwarded, contains any

new point not contained in his telegram of the 2nd or in previous correspondence or request not covered by our orders.

[True Copy]

Assistant Superintendent,
H. D. (Spl.).

Received in Poona at 13-07 hrs. on 3rd November 1932.

Received in S. B., at 13-30 hrs. on 3rd November 1932.

Decoded at 14-00 hrs. on 3rd November 1932.

Copy to :—

H.E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 299]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

The accompanying draft reply to the Government of India telegram is submitted for approval.

2. It may be noted that the message communicated to Mr. Gandhi as from the Government of India (contained in the first paragraph of their telegram No. 2440, dated the 2nd November 1932) does not enjoin upon Mr. Gandhi the continued necessity of—(A) ['scrupulously avoiding, directly or indirectly, leakage of any information about the correspondence',] though in paragraph 2 of the same telegram the Government of India have impressed upon this Government the importance of maintaining the strictly confidential nature of the correspondence and preventing any leakage. Mr. Gandhi's telegram to the Government of India today does not either contain any undertaking as at 'A' above.

A.S.,

(Sd.).....,

3rd November.

H. M., wire may issue.

(Sd.) F. F. HUDSON.

3rd October.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 299]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 196, dated 3rd November 1932.

To

Home, New Delhi.

Clear-the-Line—

Reference your No. 2454 of November 3rd. Gandhi's letter of October 31st reiterated his intention of restricting his diet if reply from Government to his

previous correspondence was not received in course of day. He suggested that as large amount of correspondence on untouchability had accumulated requiring replies with a view to publication, it was incumbent on Government either to publish his correspondence or inform public in other way considered desirable of his request and Government's refusal to accede to it. He added that he had scrupulously avoided either directly or indirectly leakage of any information about correspondence.

Bombay Special

Copy to :
H. E. (P. S. G).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 301]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Secretary's Note

Draft letter in the question of the delay in sending Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Government of India submitted. His Excellency wishes the case to be submitted to him before he leaves Poona this evening.

2. I am very doubtful whether it is worth while to 'worry' this question, a good deal of the trouble was caused to the fact that the 29th and 30th October were post office holidays and the letter had to be sent registered.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE.
6th November
H.M.

(Sd.) C. W. F. HUDSON.
6th November

H. E. (P. S. G.)

H. E. agrees that it is not necessary to take up the question officially. The draft letter has been retained for reference in case H. E. decides to take the matter up in a personal letter to the Viceroy.

(Sd.) H. R. GOULD

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 316]

CONFIDENTIAL

URGENT

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 1006 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 4th November 1932

Sir,

With reference to your Confidential letter No. C. 6/10358, dated 3rd November 1932, I have the honour to inform you that—

(1) (a) You are responsible that communications, which you can translate, emanating from Mr. Gandhi do not contain any reference either direct or indirect to the civil disobedience campaign.

(b) You will have to trust to the honour and word of Mr. Gandhi, that communications, you or your staff are unable to translate, do not contain any such reference. There is to be no reference to the Oriental Translator to Government.

(c) If you are in doubt in respect of any communication you should refer the matter to me, or in my absence, to the District Magistrate, Poona—so as to avoid any delay.

(2) Interviews will be restricted to jail working hours and to jail working days. Exception may be made in special cases, which in the first instance, should be referred to me.

(3) Orders regarding 'Deputations' will later be issued by Government. There is no objection to not more than five persons interviewing Mr. Gandhi at any one time.

(4) Press representatives may be allowed when required by Mr. Gandhi.

(5) The presence of the Superintendent or Jailor is not necessary during interviews.

(6) All interviews will, for the present, take place in the Superintendent's office—at which prisoner Mahadev Desai, in his capacity as Secretary to Mr. Gandhi, may be present.

(7) Government do not consider that State Prisoner Vallabhbai Patel should be present at any interview. This point is however under reference, and further orders will issue on the point in due course.

(8) It is not considered necessary under the present circumstances to transfer Mr. Gandhi and his associates from their present quarters.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

No. 1007 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 4th November 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona

Copy forwarded with compliments for information. These orders have issued according to instruction by the Hon'ble the Home Member.

Definite orders regarding paragraph 7 of my letter are awaited.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency

Submitted.

(Sd.) C. F. Borges
4th November
Secretary.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
6th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 317]

H.M.,

I can see no reason why V. Patel should be present at these interviews in the Superintendents' Office. But I have little doubt that Mr. Gandhi will take the obvious method of ensuring his presence, and it is perhaps hardly worth while contesting the point if he raises it.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON
5th November

H. E. (P. S. G.),

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES
6th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, pp. 357-358]

Extract from the Indian Social Reformer, dated 5th November 1932.

Egypt's Tributes to Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhiji was the recipient of two messages from Egypt during his fast. These and his replies are reproduced below from the *Free Press Journal*:

Begum Zaghlul's Telegram

To

Mahatma Gandhi,
Yeravda Prison, Poona

Mahatmaji,

The Egyptian nation which was watching with keen interest and with deep attachment of love and brotherhood the progress of that movement undertaken by you, the idol of the whole of the East, for the liberation of the country, is today watching with perplexed heart and faded face your awful and fierce determination to sacrifice your precious life for the sake of the unity of India,

To the delight of my late lamented husband I participated in his successful attempt to settle once for all the communal differences between the Muslims and the Coptics which stood in the way for the liberation of Egypt and which finally resulted in achieving lasting unity and brotherhood among the two warring sections of the people. With sincerity of heart I earnestly pray that all the different communities of India should immediately unite together so that India may attain salvation and the life of the greatest and noblest Indian may thus be saved. As your precious life has now become international property not of the East but of the whole world so that noble life must be saved at any cost.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) SAFIA ZAGHLUL

Manama's Reply

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following reply to Begum Zaghlul : —

'I am extremely thankful to you for your soul encouraging and charming telegram. The Will of God be done.'

Nahas Pasha's Telegram

Below we produce the full telegram of Nahas Pasha, ex-Premier of Egypt to Mahatmaji, which was published in mutilated form in the *Indian Press* :—

Dear Mahatmaji,

Your sincere and heart-enabling determination to the effect that for maintaining the Indian solidarity in fact you should sacrifice your valuable life has captivated the hearts of the Egyptian people. The Egyptian nation before its present national awakening passed through the same amount of difficulties and sacrifices through which India is now passing and which has linked the destiny of Egypt with the destiny of India equally.

The Egyptian nation, whose ardent love of the country has united them in settling the communal differences and closing up their ranks, sincerely hopes that to save the priceless life of Mahatmaji the various Indian communities should instantly unite and adjust the communal quarrels. All the Eastern Nations which are still fighting for the liberty of their countries fondly hope to see the consummation of that ideal for which Mahatmaji is ready to lay down his life.

O! Mahatmaji! on behalf of Egypt and on behalf of the Egyptian nation, I sincerely offer our greetings of love and brotherhood to you in your hour of penance with the hope that your struggle for truth, independence and equality may be crowned with abiding success for which we live and we shall die in the end.

Mahatma's Reply

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following reply to Nahas Pasha :—

'Your telegram has produced much influence upon my heart. I pray to God that my present fast may touch the hearts of all and may bless us all, with the wealth of lasting communal unity and peace which I cherish so dearly in my heart. During these days of fast I am using that Egyptian shawl which was so graciously presented to me as a token of love and affection of the occasion of my last travel on the shores of Egypt. I completely rely and depend upon God the Most Merciful.'

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 305]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

7th November 1932

Dear Sir,

My thoughts having been hitherto concentrated simply upon what threatened to be an impasse about untouchability I was unable to think of any other matter. Now that it is happily over, I would like to approach the Government of India on certain decisions of theirs which I have not been able to understand.

I should, if I may, like to know why my reply telegrams to Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad and to Dr. Ansari, expressing my hope of Hindu Muslim unity being achieved were disallowed. I saw in the press the correspondence between His Excellency the Viceroy and Maulana Shaukat Ali regarding his request for permission to interview me on the same question. If the reasons given to him for refusal to let him see me are also the reasons for disallowing my telegrams I fail to see the connection between my association with Civil Disobedience and Hindu-Muslim unity. My association with Civil Disobedience appears to the Government to be bad. But I hope my views on Hindu-Muslim unity and my desire to promote it do not so appear to them. If I am right in my assumption, I can only understand the ban on the interview and my telegrams on the supposition that it is a punishment meted out to me and those who would see me or correspond with me, even on matters that have no connection with Civil Disobedience, only because I would not set aside the dictates of my conscience and my reason and would not dissociate myself from it. I hope Government of India have not contemplated any such punishment.

The Government of India will admit that as a prisoner I have given the authorities willing co-operation. I should like it also to be intelligent. Wherever it is possible, I should know why particular requests are refused. So far as in me lies I endeavour to make no unreasonable requests. They have been generally either in the interests of my health or of public good as distinguished from selfish gratification.

So far as the telegrams which are the subject-matter of this letter are concerned, they do not now need to be sent. But occasions for dealing with public matters outside untouchability and having no connection with Civil Disobedience will undoubtedly arise. I should like therefore not only to know the reasons for the disallowance in the cases mentioned, but also to know the future policy of the Government on similar occasions.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department,
New Delhi

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 353*]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

8th November 1932

Dear Major Bhandari,

During the Fast Week there were two telegrams received from Egypt, one from Madam Zaghloul and the other from Nahas Pasha. I cabled suitable replies to both. During that week all the important telegrams and my replies to them were handed to the press. But just at present, I observe that garbled versions of the telegrams mentioned above in a somewhat ludicrous form are going the round of the press as if they were the true versions. They appear to be translations from Egyptian Vernacular newspapers. I should like to supply the press with true copies. Will you please ascertain from the Government whether these copies may be supplied by me to the press ? Of course they have reference to untouchability. I enclose herewith the text, barring Nahas Pasha's wire which for the moment I cannot trace among my papers. The cutting herewith from the *Indian Social Reforms* containing the garbled version will give some idea of the original.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 363]

Dear Major Bhandari,

You have been receiving on my behalf the *Vedic Magazine*, a Hindi Monthly, *Purushartha*—a Marathi Monthly, both religious publications, *Indian Review of Madras*—Hon'ble Mr. Natesan's Monthly and possibly other magazines.

Now that I am permitted to do propaganda work regarding untouchability, I shall want these and other publications in order to enable me to keep myself in touch with public opinion as expressed in the Press and to combat, where necessary, criticism that may appear therein.

You seem to doubt whether these papers and magazines that are already coming and which may come in answer to my appeal may under the recent decision of the Government of India, be given to me. Will you please obtain the Government interpretation in the matter as early as possible ?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

8th November 1932
Yeravda Central Prison

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 319]

CONFIDENTIAL

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, November 1932

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to paragraph 2 of your endorsement No. 1007, dated the 4th instant, asking for definite orders on the question whether Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel should be allowed to be present at Mr. Gandhi's interviews, I am directed to inform you that if and when Mr. Gandhi raises the point, it may be conceded.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.).....,
Offg. Secy, to the Govt, of Bombay,
Home Department.

Would it not be better to show His Majesty's minute under order to Inspector-General of Prisons ? I do not know that we want to issue definite order until the point is raised.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
8th November

I asked officially for definite instructions in the event of a certain contingency, and would be glad of an official reply.

I fail to see why this should not be issued, as H. M. has agreed to a definite issue of action.

If need for executive orders arises, I shall then be armed with the requisite authority to issue these at once, without a further reference to Government.

(Sd.) DOYLE

8th November 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 320]

In view of the latest received from Mr. Gandhi for Secretary, Home Department. Government of India, I am of the opinion that it would be preferable to defer the issue of definite orders in the point issued by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

H. M.

H. E. (P. S. G.).

Inspector-General of Prison may be told that as Mr. Gandhi's interviews will be in the Superintendents office, Mr. V. Patel will naturally not be present. But if Mr. Gandhi makes a great point of his presence, it may be allowed.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON

12th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part 111, pp. 361-62]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. C. 11/10517 of 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 10th November 1932

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter from State Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

So far he has been allowed periodicals and newspapers mentioned in the Government letter No. S.D. 310, Home Department (Political), dated 16th January 1932. A number of other periodicals and papers were received but were not delivered to him. There are some periodicals which only deal with

religious matters and sometimes when I had time to scrutinize them, I gave a few to him. But some of the periodicals that he now mentions in his letter do not deal with religious matters only, for example the *Indian Review*.

In case his request is to be granted, it would entail more work for me and my staff if such papers have to be censored in this office. If he is to be allowed greater facilities in this respect in that case I suggest that they may be restricted to, " cuttings' from such papers and periodicals dealing with untouchability only, i.e., if the cuttings are received as such, and not the whole newspapers or periodicals.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1025 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 10th November 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

(Sd.) S. R. CHAUBAL,
Personal Assistant,
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
for Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

I think Mr. Gandhi's request can be granted. Major Bhandari can see the periodicals and occasionally if he considers any of them objectionable refer them for orders. I do not mean that he should try to censor the papers but maintain a general watch.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
11th November 1932

H. E. (P. S. G).

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES
11th November 1932

To be submitted to H. M. after orders have issued.

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE.
11th November 1932

(Originals sent to I. G. of Prisons under u. o. r. No. S.D. 7028, dated 12th November 1932).
For information.

(Sd.) C. F. BORGES
15th November

(Sd.) C. B. B. CLEE
15th November

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 417*]

INDIAN STUDENTS UNION,

112, Gower Street,
London, W. C. 1.
November 12

My Dearest Mohan,

I forgot to mention an important matter which may prove of service some-where. I went to the India Office to find out whether any community (such as the Indian Christians) could contract out of the Prime Minister's award in a separate province. The answer was unofficially given to me ' Yes' and I am taking it up at once with S. K. Datta and Father Winslow and others. It has also appeared possible to me that it might affect other communal awards and I thought I ought to let you know at once.

When I asked whether individuals, *qua* individuals, might contract out the answer was very much more doubtful, indeed it was said that probably this could *not* happen, but I feel that the point needs to be thrashed out. If the communal poison is to be eliminated we must not fail to avail ourselves of any purging process.

I could not understand from what the *Times* reported yesterday if you actually replied to the question asked you ' whether you could be able to deal with the removal of untouchability more effectively if you were released from prison ?' The *Times* seemed to give your answer in this way that the ' removal of untouchability' and ' civil disobedience' appeared to you to be equally important. But the further issue ' whether you yourself felt hindered from within the prison walls in carrying on your anti-untouchability campaign' did *not* seem to be answered and therefore it left me in doubt what to do. It is just possible I may cable to you about this, but in any case I feel it best to send it by air mail. You will easily realise how it affects the work here which I myself wish to accomplish.

Will you give my very dear love to Vallabhbhai and Mahadev. I have been having an almost overwhelming programme to fulfil. One of my sisters has been ill. I am sorry to say. They sent their love to you. Dr. Ansari has been very ill but is now better. I think this coming for special ' bath' treatment to Europe has saved his life.

With dearest love,
(Sd.) CHARLIE.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (46) (4), Part II, p. 5]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

13th November 1932

Dear Sir,

I have seen Lord Sankey's public appeal to me. I feel that it calls for an immediate reply from me. I therefore submit the enclosed for His Excellency's approval and despatch by cable. I do not know whether this falls within His Excellency's jurisdiction or His Excellency the Viceroy's. If the latter, I request that the text of my reply to Lord Sankey be wired to H. E. the Viceroy for being cabled to the Lord Chancellor.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

The Private Secretary to H. E. The Governor, Bombay.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, pp. 55-57]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

15th November 1932

Dear Col. Doyle,

Sjt. Dahyabhai is the only son of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He has been suffering from fever for the last eight days. Doctors have now pronounced it to be Typhoid. It is necessary to inform his sister Maniben Patel who is in the Central Prison, Belgaum of Dahyabhai's illness from day today. I enclose draft of a telegram to be sent to her. I hope you will kindly send it with instructions to the Superintendent to deliver it to Maniben Patel and to receive from her whatever message she wishes to give. And could I, whilst the fever lasts, give her detailed information from day today and receive from her whatever messages she might have to give in reply to the daily report ? My reason for wishing her to send even a daily post-card is to pass it on to the patient. It must cheer him to know that his only sister is being kept informed of the progress of his illness and that she sends him messages of love.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[True Copy]

(Sd.).....,

Personal Assistant to the
Inspector-General of Prisons

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 57]

Maniben Patel,
Prisoner, Central Prison, Belgaum.

Dahyabhai suffering fever last seven days now declared typhoid no complications special nurses attending no cause anxiety will try to send daily report.

BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 13]

Lord Chancellor, London

15th November 1932

Pained read cabled summary your appeal to me through News Letter stop Can prisoner make generous gesture towards his jailors stop. It is hardly fair for Ministers and Viceroy criticising and misrepresenting, may be unconsciously my actions or attitude without giving me opportunity refutation stop Remember I returned here promote peace as my speeches private letters talks in London and during return voyage will show stop I had actually planned tour to that end stop Sought interview Viceroy and received highly discourteous reply attaching imposible conditions to grant request for interview stop Reply and scarcely veiled preparations of pending arrest left me no course open but draw up for Congress tentative programme civil disobedience stop Sequence events shows that complete preparations including draft ordinance whilst I was in London were made for execution of whole plan that followed stop Conclusion irresistible that Indian Government wanted force crisis by provoking Congress to action any event stop I can establish before any impartial tribunal that Government of India and wilfully broke several conditions Irwin-Gandhi Pact before my arrest and completely broke them after my arrest stop Some of them were of highest public good and need never have been broken stop And now there is virtual martial law in land stop Yet spirit of people though hushed remains unbroken stop Discontent is deeper stop Freedom of Movement and press virtually destroyed stop No man's liberty or property safe stop Heavy fines recovered from relatives or by sale of personal belongings of prisoners stop Punitive taxes imposed on villages and populations for guilt of few and thousands imprisoned and treated as common felons stop It does surprise me that on top of this you find it possible invite me drop Civil Disobedience stop You do not even seem to realise that the movement is not in my hands or that of any single person, that I am not permitted see comrades whether in prison or outside and even Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar and recently Maulana Shaukat Ali could not see me to discuss with me possibility suspension of Civil Disobedience stop Invitation to bondsman to make generous gesture is equal to mocking him stop I would like you also to realise that so far as I am concerned civil disobedience under given conditions is an article of faith with me stop I do not believe in use of brute force in any case stop Civil Disobedience therefore is for me

what armed rebellion is for individuals or groups in general stop In atmosphere I have described it is futile expect liberal constitution stop I wholly endorse your proposition that it is better to bring men together than keep them apart stop But you do not follow up your thought by recognising that unnatural relation of conquerors and conquered must keep two peoples apart even as prisoners and their keepers are in reality apart though they are physically placed near one another stop Through civil disobedience and kindred methods I am seeking might and main to bring two together by destroying unnatural relations stop I should like to tell you that one supreme gesture that was possible for me even after imprisonment and that was perhaps largely after your style I did make within a few days of my incarceration by writing personal letter to Viceroy appealing to him to let me see him and discuss whole thing as between man and man and I wrote advising Sir Samuel Hoare of step I had taken stop Viceroy never even acknowledged my letter written in friendliest tone possible stop Now therefore only honourable gesture I can make or is open to me is to drink cup of suffering to dregs stop In fairness I suggest that this reply may be published.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 367]

15th November 1932

TELEGRAM

Name—Ferozechand.

'Bandemataram',

Address—Lahore.

HOPE EVERYONE HONOURING LALAJI'S MEMORY WILL DO SOMETHING REMOVE UNTOUCHABILITY.

—GANDHI

[H. D (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 373]

15th November 1932

TELEGRAM

Name—Govind Malaviya,

Address—Allahabad.

THANK GOD HOPE FATHER NONE THE WORSE FOR STRAIN.

BAPU.

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 345]

SECRET

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

From

The Hon'ble Mr. M. G. Hallett, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

No. 3047-Poll

Dated New Delhi, 16th November 1932

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. S. D. 6975, dated the 9th November 1932, forwarding for the orders of the Government of India a letter addressed to them by Mr. Gandhi, dated the 7th November 1932, and to request that the following orders may be communicated to Mr. Gandhi.

2. The Government of India have for exceptional reasons permitted Mr. Gandhi facilities for carrying on his programme in regard to the social and moral problem of the removal of untouchability. But his position as the leader of civil disobedience, which is still his avowed programme, makes it necessary to detain him as a State prisoner, and as a prisoner, he cannot expect to take part in the ordinary public life of the country or the discussion of political questions, even though they have no connection with civil disobedience. The Government of India therefore are not prepared to give Mr. Gandhi facilities for dealing with such questions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

M. G. HALLETT,

Secretary to the Government of India.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 19]

TELEGRAM

SECRET

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Secretary of State, London.

No. 2576.

Dated the 16th November 1932.

Reported to Bombay Special, Bombay

Continuation my telegram of today's date repeating Gandhi's message to Lord Sankey which we have considered in council in regard to his request for publication.

2. This message seems to confirm view that Gandhi has no intention of abandoning civil disobedience or indeed of doing anything that Government could accept but that he has merely been seeking an opportunity to manoeuvre himself back into position for concluding in consultation with other congress leaders another pact for suspension to use his own words of civil disobedience. The reference at the end of the telegram to his supreme gesture refers to a letter to Viceroy, dated 15th January 1932 in which while claiming right of Congress to carry on civil disobedience he asked Viceroy to enter into negotiations.

3. The message if published in India will be used as propaganda to revive civil disobedience and has in our view been written solely with this object. Even though movement is at low ebb it would tend to cause revival and is calculated to do serious harm.

4. We observe that Lord Sankey had not written direct to Gandhi and we consider it wholly inconsistent with Gandhi's position as a State prisoner to allow him to publish letters which are designed solely for the purpose of carrying on civil disobedience propaganda on the excuse of a public statement by a Cabinet Minister. There is no limit to extension of this practice if once permitted. For these reasons we strongly advise letter should not be published and that no reply should be sent.

[True Copy]

Assistant Superintendent,
Home Department (Spl.).

Copies sent to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.)

H. M.

Received in H. D. (Spl.) at 11-00 hrs. on 17th November 1932.

Decoded at 14-20 hours.

For information

(Sd.) R.M.M

17th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 31]

SECRET

TELEGRAM

No. 2603.

Dated the 19th November 1932

From

Home, New Delhi;

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

Continuation of Home Department Telegram No. 2576, dated the 16th November 1932, addressed to the Secretary of State and repeated to you.

Secretary of State agrees that Gandhi's message should not be published and that no reply should be sent. He is informing Lord Chancellor accordingly. This is for your information but no communication should be made to Gandhi.

[True Copy]

Asstt. Superintendent,
H. D. (Special).

Received in H. D. (Special) on 21st November 1932 at 11-00 hrs.

Decoded at 11-55 hours.

Copies to :—

H.M.

H. E. (P. S. G.)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 35]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

19th November 1932

Dear Major Bhandari,

You have kindly showed me a memorandum from Government in connection with my interview with the correspondent of the *Hindu* which refers to Lord Sankey's letter. In the light of that memorandum I have read and reread the Government of India's decision on my letters requesting facility in regard to visitors and correspondence on removal of untouchability. I can see absolutely no inconsistency between the undertaking given by me and the reference to Lord Sankey's letter in the interview. It would be found on a perusal of the interview that rather than in any shape or form depart from my undertaking I have expressed my inability, because of the undertaking to deal with the letter except through the Government.

I am however grateful to Government for having drawn my attention to what they consider is inconsistency between my undertaking and the reference to Lord Sankey's letter in the interview in question. I would add that I am carrying out the undertaking in most difficult circumstances. Questions crop up in the course of interviews which have a vital bearing upon untouchability work, but which strictly speaking would be outside untouchability. I rigorously refrain from answering them even at the risk of being misunderstood and the cause suffering. As it is, generally either you or the Jailor has been present at the interviews. You or he will perhaps bear me out when I state that I have scrupulously refused to give my opinion on matters outside untouchability and have even refused to receive visitors, whether Indian or European, when I have known that they could not have anything important to say on untouchability or when they have desired a discussion on the political aspect of untouchability. I feel that in doing the last thing I have gone beyond the letter of the Government of India's decision and my undertaking, but I know that the spirit of them would exclude discussion even on the political aspect of untouchability. I have here in mind the correspondence I am carrying on with Mr. Jenkins.

Nevertheless if this reply does not satisfy the Government I suggest their sending an official to discuss with me exactly what the Government would have me to do in matters such as the one which is the subject matter of this correspondence. And if consistently with my work I can carry out their wishes I would do so with great pleasure. My one desire in the midst of the extraordinary facilities given to me in extraordinary circumstances is, if it is at all possible, to earn at the end of the chapter a certificate from Government that the undertaking given by me had been carried out in an honourable manner.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[True Copy]
(Sd.),
Personal Assistant to the
Inspector-General of Prisons.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 37]

In accordance with Secretary's instructions in pencil, a draft letter, with f. c, to the Government of India is submitted.

2. On other papers the Government of India have asked to be kept promptly informed of any communications intended for them from Mr. Gandhi and have suggested that summaries of such communications should be telegraphed to them in advance. It is for orders therefore whether the accompanying telegram should also issue.

H. M.
H.E. (P. S. G.).

As the Government of India sent their message by telegram for communication to Mr. Gandhi, the reply may be telegraphed in addition to transmitting it by post.

R. M. M.
22nd November

H.M.
H. E. (P. S. G.)
(Sd.) F. O. SYKES
23rd November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 61]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
18th November 1932

Dear Colonel Doyle,

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant in answer to my letter regarding Shrimati Maniben Patel. As the request made in that letter had

reference to a very urgent matter, I had expected an immediate reply to be of value. Fortunately her brother's illness has not yet reached the danger point, but it is serious enough to cause anxiety to those who are deeply interested in the patient. A request on behalf of a near relative as Maniben Patel that she should be informed of the progress of her brother's illness from day to day, I do not regard as one for a concession. I venture to submit that it is a human right belonging to every person although he or she may be a prisoner. I would therefore like the Government to consider my request from that human stand-point. I have no desire whatsoever to ask for a concession which being such may not be expected to be granted to every other prisoner in similar circumstances. And lest Government may not know, as you do, why I have made the request rather than her father, I may state that it is simply because Maniben has been an inmate of the Ashram and has been placed by her father under my guidance since 1924. To complete the relevant information that should be put at the disposal of Government I may add that I wrote my letter to you with the consent and approval of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Will you kindly place this letter before the Government if their orders have not been already received here this reaches you.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

No. 1056 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 18th November 1932.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders in continuation of this Office Confidential Letter, No. 1044, dated 15th November 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 67]

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Yeravda, 19th November 1932

From

Major M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda ;

To

Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. C. 6/10358, dated 3rd November 1932, I have the honour to request for further orders on the following points :

1.State prisoner M. K. Gandhi was allowed to have interviews regarding untouchability between 12 and 4 p.m. as far as possible. He was informed that no objection will be raised to interviews outside these hours in exceptional cases. He now informs me that time has arrived when he will be having a large number of interviews and may have to start interviewing from 9 a.m. onwards.

2.As the interviews have to take place in either the Superintendent's or the Jailor's office, it will greatly interfere with our legitimate work.

3. If he is to be allowed to have interviews all the day long, I suggest that he should have them in a separate yard where the visitors and State prisoner Gandhi could carry on their conversations without any interference with the Jail routine. Mr. Gandhi need not stay in this yard but could be brought there only for interviews.

4.So far I have allowed only 5 persons at a time except on one or two occasions when six persons were allowed. He now states that this restriction hampers his activities and in the long run means that he has to spend more time in giving interviews. If a larger number of persons were allowed to see him at a time, he states, he could dispose of them all at once. Now he has to split them in batches of 5 and thus give more interviews.

5.In my opinion there should be a limit to the number of visitors at a time as I do not consider it advisable that a large number of visitors all at one time should have free access in the Jail the whole day long.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Marginal Note

It is true that he can't be allowed to have regular meetings. But a dozen or so at a time would not apparently cause difficulties ?

R. M. M.,
Home Secretary.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Submitted with reference to Secretary's Marginal Notes :

2. In the message communicated to Mr. Gandhi from the Government of India (contained in the Government of India telegram No. 2440, dated

the 2nd November 1932) which comprises the instructions in regard to the removal of the restrictions imposed on Mr. Gandhi to enable him to carry out untouchability work, it is stated as follows :

' Government of India recognise that in view of considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters..... it is necessary that he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability..... As they do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with problem of untouchability they (Government of India) are removing all restrictions on visitors, correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly..... limited to removal of untouchability.'

3. On a literal interpretation of the above passage from the Government of India telegram it would seem that no limit should be placed on the number of visitors who may desire to see Mr. Gandhi, whether together or singly, on matters connected with untouchability. As stated by Secretary, however, Mr. Gandhi obviously cannot—be allowed to hold regular meetings in the jail which must inevitably have a bad effect on general jail discipline. It might be suggested therefore to Inspector-General of Prisons that a dozen or so visitors might be allowed to see him at one time.

'A for approval.'

(Sd.) R.M.M.
23rd November

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 399*]

C/o. Miss Peterson,
Porto Novo,

S. I. R.
21st November 1932

My Dear Bapuji,

It was good of you to send such a long explanation about the idol-worship question. I think we had all understood and agreed with your point that God could not be considered to inhabit any holy place which was closed to a section of the community, whether a ' white people's church' or a Hindu Temple. What we did not understand was how you could tacitly admit that God is more specially in an idol than in another piece of stone, when you do not find idols helpful yourself. It is one thing to allow other people to worship as they wish and another to give the impression that you subscribe to that method of worship yourself. It was probably entirely our fault that we took your 'message to South India' to mean the letter. The friend on whose behalf I wrote has a very real affection for you, though he has never seen you.

What do you think of the above address ? I am much enjoying my stay with Miss Peterson. Perhaps I ought to explain about my staying here and probable future movements. I think I told you on the boat that I was feeling after some simpler form of living than was possible in the place where I have been working until now and also wanting to go to Sabarmati to learn Hindi and spinning. My mission was not able to get anybody to take my place until just recently, but now I have leave for 14 months to see if God will show me a different way of serving India or, rather, I have resigned, but with an invitation to return to my old work at the earliest possible moment and not later than 1933 X'mas. I am probably going to the Christukala Ashram (Tirupattur) at the end of this month—or possibly Karanjia. Early in the New Year I would like to go for some time to Sabarmati, not as a guest but as a regular student. After that I am not sure what I shall do, but the reading of your recent statements in the press about anti-untouchability campaign has made me feel that perhaps you could put me in touch with someone with whom I can work for a while. I don't think I am good at managing other people or organising, but I could help in actually *doing* sweeper work, say, where perhaps that would be of as much help as the talking about it. I have helped the girls in my own school a few times when our rather irregular, paid sweeper failed to turn up for a few days and have done my own sweeping all this year though living in a bungalow with other Englishwomen. Perhaps it would be possible to find out at Sabarmati what I could do in this way or other ways, but if not, I do not know to whom to apply. I suggest this because a few people actually taking part in the disadvantages of Harijans—or *even* some of the disadvantages ; we could never experience them all—may help reform more than many mass meetings.

If you feel that the ordinary missionary channels are my best of way of serving India I shall be interested to hear so; if not and you could put me in touch with someone else I should be grateful. If you think it best for me to wait until I have passed some testing time at Sabarmati I shall be satisfied. You said in your first letter that I might go there anytime, so I hope there will be no obstacle to my going there, though I realise of course that it cannot be fully organised at present.

I am fond of walking and prefer village life to town life, which points may give a clue as to how best I may be useful.

You would enjoy seeing Miss Peterson in. her home here—she gives herself so whole heartedly to the whole family, even the cats and dogs, that everybody is very happy. It is a privilege to stay here.

My Namasthes to M. D. and yourself.

Ever your affectionately,
(Sd.) MARY BARR.

P.S.—

I am much appreciating meeting some of Miss Peterson's Hindu friends. Having always been in a Christian institution in a Christian compound I have

had practically no contact with Hindus. Miss P. intended to put a letter in with this, but she has been busy and post-time has come, so she sends her love and says she will write later. I know you are having a great deal of correspondence just now, so I think a p. c. will be adequate for a reply to this.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 65]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1068 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 21st November 1932

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. C. 23/10840, dated 19th November 1932, I have the honour to inform you that your proposal that Mr. Gandhi should have his interviews in the ' Separate Yard' (where he was during his fast) is approved. He should be there only during the hours the Jail is open.

2. In the event of an ' exceptional interview' being permitted, after the Jail has been closed, it should be held in the Superintendent's office.

3. The question contained in paragraphs 4 and 5 of your letter has been referred to Government for orders, which, on receipt will be communicated to you.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 66]

CONFIDENTIAL

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 21st November 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Copy, with copy of letter to which it is a reply forwarded with compliments for favour of orders in respect of paragraphs 4 and 5 of the letter from the

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, with whose opinion expressed in paragraph 5, I agree.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency

[H, D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 39]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM (Express)

No. 204, dated 22nd November 1932.

To

Home,
New Delhi.

Your telegram 2588 of November 18th Gandhi's letter containing his observations regarding interview with correspondent of *Hindu* is being sent by post. Following is gist of letter.

2. He sees absolutely no inconsistency between undertaking given by him and reference to Lord Sankey's letter in interview and points out that rather than depart from undertaking he expressed his inability to deal with the letter except through Government. He adds that he is carrying out undertaking in most difficult circumstances as questions arise in course of interviews which have vital bearing upon untouchability but which strictly speaking would be outside untouchability and that he has scrupulously refused to express opinions or receive visitors in connection with political aspect of untouchability. He suggests that if reply does not satisfy Government official might be sent to discuss what exactly Government require in matters such as the one under correspondence and that if consistently with his work he can meet Government's wishes he would gladly do so. In conclusion he says his one desire in availing himself of extraordinary facilities allowed is to earn certificate from Government that undertaking has been carried out in honourable manner.

Bombay Special.

(Sd.).....,

R. M. M.

Secretary to Government.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part I, p. 323]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 7195
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 23rd November 1932

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 1007, dated the 4th instant, asking for definite orders on the question whether Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel should be allowed to be present at Mr. Gandhi's interviews in connection with the removal of the untouchability. I am directed to state that as the interviews will take place in the office of the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel will naturally not be present. If however, Mr. Gandhi makes a great point of Mr. Patel's presence, it may be permitted.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
23rd November,
Officiating Secretary to Government,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 77]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
24th November 1932.

Dear Sir,

I have waited almost to the breaking point before writing this letter. Untouchability work is proving beyond my ability to cope with and this inspite of assistance I am getting from Sardar Vallabhbhai and Sjt. Mahadev Desai. The correspondence is daily growing in volume. The number of visitors is increasing daily and more and more time has to be given to these visits as the movement progresses. I am already in arrears with my correspondence and the statements I must make for the public. My difficulty is enhanced by the fact that my elbows are giving more trouble than before and I am not able to use my hands for writing as much as I should, nor have I regained my pre-fast vitality so as to enable me to put in more work than I am doing now. As it is, we all begin work at 4 O'clock in the morning and it continues with necessary intervals up to 9 p.m. The only way therefore out of the

difficulty is for the Government to send one of my prisoner associates to stay with me. The following are the names that just now occur to me:

1. Sjt. Mohanlal Bhatt	Camp Jail, Yeravda
2. Sjt. Shanker Kalelkar	Central Jail, Yeravda
3. Sjt. Ramdas Gandhi	Camp Jail, Yeravda
4. Sjt. Swami Anand	Camp Jail, Nasik Road
5. Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi	(Jail not known)
6. Sjt. Jugatram Dave	Byculla, House of Correction

These prisoners have been intimately connected with me and have worked under me, and they know English, Gujarati and Hindi, which is what I need. If I had my choice, I would chose Swami Anand as being the most competent for the work. He has been Secretary of the Anti-Untouchability Committee established by the Congress in 1929, and since then has been devoting most of his time to untouchability work.

I need hardly say that I have confined my request to the least assistance I need immediately. If this is a matter which can only be decided by the Government of India, may I ask that my request may be telegraphed to mem?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

To

Secretary to Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1089 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 25th November 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy together with an extract of letter by the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

The original letter is herewith enclosed.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL) (p. 82)

The Government of India orders about the facilities to be given to Mr. Gandhi in dealing with the untouchability question are at p. 357 of File 800 (40) (4) put up. They only apply to removal of restrictions on

visitors, correspondence and publicity, and do not guarantee any other facilities. Presumably however the Government of India would agree to any concessions which would help Mr. Gandhi in dealing with untouchability, and he now asks for one more prisoner associate to help in clerical work. It will be seen from the particulars given above that most of the persons from whom he asks us to select one have a very bad political history ; and at this rate we may soon have a full-fledged Congress Secretariat working under Mr. Gandhi at Yeravda. We need not however object to giving him the single hand for which he asks.

As regards selection, it is not clear why the Superintendent objects to Nos. 2 and 3 particularly. We could hardly agree to Nos. 1, 4 or 6, and No. 5 is at present not known to H. D. Special, I should have thought either Nos. 2 or 3 would be preferable to any of the others, since their association with Mr. Gandhi is mainly personal and they have not stood out as agitators ' on their own'. Perhaps therefore the Inspector-General of Prisons may be told to detail either No. 2 or No. 3, unless there is any objection to them which does not apply equally to the others.

As the Government of India apparently now want to be informed of every request on this subject made by Mr. Gandhi the accompanying draft wire is submitted for approval.

H. M.,

H. E. (P. S. G.).

(Sd.) R. M. M.

26th November

Immediately find out where No. 5 is. We cannot object to all of them.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON.

27th November

(Sd.) F. H. Sykes.

28th November

H. M.,

H.E. (P. S. G.).

Yes I think this will do for the present. Doubtless he is aiming at mass meetings but I do not suppose even the Government of India will wish us to allow that.

HE. (P. S. G.),

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES.

25th November

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON.

23rd November.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 45]

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

No. D. 9832-Poll

Dated New Delhi, the 26th November 1932

From

The Hon'ble Mr. M. G. HALLETT, CLE., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. S.D. 7173, dated the 22nd November 1932, I am directed to say that the Government of India recognise the difficulties in deciding on the precise application of the general undertaking, and that though in this case they consider that the topic of Lord Sankey's letter was outside its terms, they are fully satisfied that Mr. Gandhi has no intention but to fulfil the undertaking in an honourable manner. I am to request that this may be communicated to Mr. Gandhi.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT,
Secretary to the Government of India.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 93]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 7316
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 29th November 1932

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, CLE., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 1089, dated the 25th November 1932, forwarding for the orders of Government, a letter dated the 24th idem

from Mr. Gandhi in which he asks for one more prisoner associate to help him in dealing with his correspondence on untouchability, I am directed to state that Mr. Gandhi should be informed that, in the special circumstances explained by him, Government have agreed to accede to his request and that arrangements are being made to detail prisoner Chhaganlal Joshi for the purpose.

2. I am to request that you will arrange as early as possible to detail prisoner Chhaganlal Joshi to stay with Mr. Gandhi and, if necessary, order his immediate transfer to the Yeravda Central Prison. A report should be submitted to Government when the arrangements have been completed.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. M.,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

29th November

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 99*]

Submitted for information with reference to H. M.'s minute of 27th November (p. 82), and Secretary's note of 29th November (p. 91).

It turns out that Chhaganlal Joshi is in Hyderabad Prison, where he was transferred because the D. S. P., Ahmedabad, did not want him kept at Sabarmati. Orders have already been issued that he should be sent to Yeravda to help Gandhi in clerical work.

Shanker Kalelkar and Ramdas Gandhi the two others whom I first suggested, are both at Yeravda now, but the Superintendent did not want them considered. So I suppose we had better stick to Chhaganlal, although it involves a long transfer.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

30th November

H.M.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON,
30th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 85]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 205, dated 29th November 1932

To

Home, New Delhi.

For information with reference to your letter No. S. 2959 of 7th November 1932, Gandhi now requests that owing to enormous increase in volume of correspondence in connection with untouchability work and recurrence of his old elbow trouble he may be allowed one more prisoner associate who has worked under him previously to help him. Bombay Government disposed to accede to his request and are dealing with matter accordingly—Further report will be made when arrangements are complete.

Bombay Special,
(Sd.).....,
Secretary to Government.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

A draft to the Inspector-General of Prisons is submitted for approval in accordance with Secretary's note of 26th November, approved by H. M. and H. E.

2. It is presumably unnecessary to await the information called for from the Inspector-General of Prisons (as directed in H. M.'s minute of 27th November), regarding the whereabouts of Chhaganlal Joshi, a note about whom is at page 13 above, before issue of the draft letter.

3. With regard to Mohanlal Bhatt, one of the six persons mentioned in Mr. Gandhi's letter, it has since been found that there is a *Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt who is serving a sentence of imprisonment at Yeravda. This Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt was the Manager of Mr. Gandhi's *Young India* and it is probable that he is the individual to whom Mr. Gandhi refers. He was sentenced at Ahmedabad in January last to an aggregate term of one year and six months R. I. plus a fine of Rs. 500 or 6 months and 45 days further rigorous imprisonment in default under section 17 (I), C. L. A. Act and section 23† of Ordinance No. 11 of 1932.

He should be given Chhaganlal Joshi, who seems quite harmless H. M. has approved amend letter accordingly find out as soon as possible where Chhaganlal is, Gandhi should be informed.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
29th November

* the office note at p. 7 referred to a Mohanlal Mulhankar Bhatt.

† tampering with public servants.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL) (p. 92)

A revised draft is submitted with f. c.

2. As regards Chhaganlal Joshi's whereabouts we may wait till tomorrow for a reply from the Inspector-General of Prisons to Express letters No. S.D. 7279 of November 28th and, if not received, ask for a telegraphic reply.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
29th November

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 431]

Copy of a telegram from Charlie (Andrews), Birmingham to Mahatma Gandhi, Yeravda Prison, Poona, dated the 8th December 1932.

Discount over anxiety my letters everything clear now. If my help needed India cable otherwise remaining London.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 423]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
9th December 1932

My Dear Charlie,

I have your letter of 12th November only today. If it was an airmail letter it should have been received about the 22nd of November. Your letter therefore seems to have gone through the whole circuit of examination before being delivered to me. I shall inquire. I am surprised that there should be any question arising as to whether I could do untouchability work more effectively as a freeman than as a prisoner. I should think that it is a self-evident proposition that I could do more effective work as a freeman. At the same time I can fully appreciate the Government standpoint. So long as they feel that civil disobedience must be put down at any cost and that their plan might be frustrated or checked if I was left free to carry on civil disobedience propaganda, they are bound to keep me under detention unless I would give them an assurance, be it even verbal, that I would not carry on civil disobedience propaganda. For my part, however much I may wish to confine myself wholly to untouchability work, I cannot without a full knowledge of the circumstances outside give any undertaking as to my future action. After all civil disobedience under given circumstances is as much an article of faith with me as removal of untouchability. I can therefore never say beforehand what will occupy my attention exclusively or for the most part at a given moment and since a civil register bargains for the punishment he receives for his resistance, he must not fret over it. Therefore and to that extent I am content with my lot. I hope this tells you clearly how I stand.

I hope you got there no alarming report about my little fast over Appasaheb Patwardhan. I need not give you the details about the event for you must

have seen them in the papers. All I need say is that except for a little weakness there is no ill effect left of the fast. I hope too that you are finding no difficulty in understanding and appreciating the temple entry question and the contemplated fast.

I hope that you are keeping your health inspite of the stress.

Dr. Ansari is wonderful. If he is there give him our love and tell him that our prayers always ascend to heaven for his complete recovery.

If what you say about the communal decision turns out to be true it is a silver lining to the dark cloud.

Love from us all,
(Sd.) MOHAN

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, p. 433*]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

With reference to Secretary's query, the only letter for the last month from C. F. Andrews to Gandhi which has been referred to Government for orders is that page 467, File No. 800 (40) (3), Part III, which was allowed to go on as also Mr. Gandhi's reply thereto (pp. 473-75, *Ibid*).

Possibly there are some other letters from Andrews in course of transmission by post or which were delivered to Mr. Gandhi without previous reference to Government. In any case, there seems no particular harm in letting Mr. Gandhi have this telegram. He needs all the soothing possible !

Draft letter, with f. c. put up.

Probably the reference in the telegram is to the last paragraph of his letter of November 12th in which he referred to the illness of his sister and Dr. Ansari and to his being an almost overwhelming programme to fulfil.

(Sd.) C. F. BORGES
13th December

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 1*]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 2881, dated 20th December 1932

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Secretary of State, London.

Private Secretary to Viceroy, *Bombay, Bombay

(*Probably repeated but this is not clear from the context.)

Clear-the-Line—

Notice has been received of proposed introduction in Assembly of Untouchability Abolition Bill from Raja and Ranga Iyer and two others and

sanction of the Governor-General has been asked for. Bill contains only one section which is as follows :

* * * * *

Madras Government while recognising undesirability of appearing to yield to threat of Gandhi to fast if sanction to introduction of Subbarayan's Bill is not granted by January 2nd are not prepared to recommend that such sanction should be refused. They suggest however that a Bill of this nature as regulating civil rights and involving also wide social and religious issues affecting the whole Hindu community should more suitably be introduced in the Central Legislature.

[H. D. (Sp. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 115]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
24th December 1932

Dear Major Bhandari,

Mahadev has told me all about what you felt over yesterday's gathering. I tried my utmost to keep the numbers inside of 25, but it was impossible to prevent the Shastris who had come from surrounding districts and they belonged to the Sanatanist school and therefore I had to walk warily. I had hoped that today would be the last day but I find that I have to prolong the period. They are coming on Monday. It taxed all my strength and tact to keep the number inside of 25 as I had promised. I shall try to keep it at that on Monday also and thereafter. But I can make no promise. I am fully aware that you have to act under instructions. But they should not be inconsistent with the orders of the Government of India. According to my reading of those orders, the number of visitors has been left open, to be regulated by me. I have been endeavouring to the utmost of my ability to suit your convenience both as to number and time, but occasions arise when it is impossible for me to restrict the number as you would wish. If therefore it is necessary for you to refer the matter to higher authority you will please do so and receive instructions as to the meeting on Monday and thereafter. As the 2nd of January approaches, I know that the pressure is bound to increase. I would therefore like a fairly free hand leaving me always to realise that I am a prisoner and therefore may not arrange things as if I have no restrictions to submit to. But I would like you and the Government to feel with me that I can consult the convenience of the administration only so far as not to interfere with the progress of the movement in furtherance of which extraordinary facilities have been given to me.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 117]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Submitted for orders with reference to the notes, etc., at pages 67-73, file No. 800 (40) (4), Part II. A relevant quotation from the Government of India orders, referred to by Mr. Gandhi will be found in paragraph 2 of the office note of 22nd December at p. 71 of the file.

2. It looks very much as though Mr. Gandhi is in search of a fresh *causes belli*, and an adverse decision on his request is bound to provoke another fast, con-jointly with or anterior to, the threatened one of the 2nd January. As stated in the previous notes, Mr. Gandhi can hardly be allowed to hold regular meetings inside the jail premises, and though possibly it may be more expedient to humour him for the time being, it is for consideration whether the Government of India should be consulted before sanction is accorded.

3. It is too late of course to issue any orders in time for today's meeting.

26th December 1932.

Secretary.—I do not think Mr. Gandhi is trying to make trouble over this but his threat of a fast has brought on rather a climax this week and he is finding it difficult to cope with the gangs of people who descend upon him. This was rather expected when the point was last raised and the difficulty is that under the Government of India orders there is no limit of numbers and the only limit is that set by the possibilities of the jail.

The Superintendent should be told that while a dozen visitors at a time should still be regarded as the ordinary limit imposed by the circumstance of the jail, he is allowed discretion to admit a larger number at one time on the special request of Mr. Gandhi, provided that the number does not seriously prejudice the proper conduct of the jail in other respects. Mr. Gandhi should however be asked to co-operate in the matter by confining such special request to cases in which it is really urgent and by doing his utmost to reduce the extra numbers to the lowest possible limits.

As H. M. is away the orders should issue at once and H. M. should see after issue.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

26th December

Quite right

H. M. (after issue).

(Sd.) W. F. H.

27th December

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part 11, p. 119]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 7750
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 26th December 1932

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. C. 87/11770, dated the 25th December 1932, forwarding for the orders of Government a letter, dated the 24th *idem* from Mr. Gandhi, in which he requests that a larger number of visitors may be allowed to see him at one time for discussions on the question of untouchability, I am directed to inform you that while a dozen visitors at a time should still be regarded as the ordinary limit imposed by the circumstances of the jail, you are allowed discretion to admit a larger number at one time on the special request of Mr. Gandhi, provided that the number does not seriously prejudice the proper conduct of the jail in other respects. Mr. Gandhi should, however, be asked to co-operate in the matter by confining such special requests to cases in which it is really urgent and by doing his utmost to reduce the extra numbers to the lowest possible limits.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.).....,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 120]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 7751.
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 26th December 1932.

Copy, together with a copy of the letter from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, and of its enclosure, forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

By order of the Governor in Council,
(Sd.).....,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 97]

G.'s Original Letter.

P. S. V.

VICEROY'S CAMP

Reluctant as I am to say something to Government regarding proposed Bill framed by Dr. Subbarayan and forwarded for Viceregal sanction by Madras Government perhaps His Excellency expects me to submit my views thereanent so as to help him to correct decision Stop Bill proposes no innovation in Hindu belief Stop On contrary it seeks carry out requirements of Hindu Shastras in accordance with opinion held by Pandits acknowledged to be wellversed in Sanskrit religious lore Stop It seeks to restore *status quo* as it existed before British courts enforced what was held by some to be ancient practice in Malabar and thus clothed it with force of law and it does so by amending Religious Endowments Act of Madras which in itself was considerable interference with then prevailing practice Stop Bill embodies unanimously expressed wish of Madras Legislature Council through its recent resolution Stop It seeks to render tardy justice to vast number of Hindus who have been arbitrarily deprived of right to religious consolation equal with other Hindus Stop It seeks but to carry out repeated declarations of His Majesty's Government to afford protection to untouchables Slop. Not to sanction measure will be tantamount to contradiction of those declarations and encouragement to forces of reaction Stop Seeing that Bill is in response to movement that set in as direct result of Yeravada Pact Government of India are in my opinion morally bound not in any way to hinder movement which they will obviously do if they block Bill Stop Bill is merely permissive measure in that it makes opening of temples to Harijans dependent upon wishes of majority of those at present entitled to offer worship in particular temple Stop To these considerations I would add this very material fact that if orthodox opinion must carry weight opinion of four crores of Harijans which must be assumed to be in favour of Bill should carry greater weight not to speak of demand of ever increasing numbers of reformers Stop A word is necessary here regarding fast that was to commence on 2nd January next if Guruvayur temple was not opened before then Stop. If fast were to be taken on that date it could not but embarrass Government Stop After consultation with Kellappan therefore I have announced that it would be indefinitely postponed Stop But it might have to be taken if for lack of decisive expression of public opinion sanction is withheld or some unforeseen but avoidable cause occurs which may prevent opening of Guruvayur temple Stop I may state that public agitation has been purposely kept in abeyance under belief that case for Viceregal sanction was unanswerable Stop But in view of growing agitation on part of Sanatanists I have suggested organisation of meetings and the like for expression of public opinion in support of Bill Stop But I do feel that it would be better if agitation one way or other over

mere question of Viceregal sanction can be avoided Stop I therefore hope that Viceregal sanction will soon be announced for introduction of Dr. Suba-ryan's Bill in Madras Legislative Council Stop I am not sending this telegram for publication Stop But of course I can have no objection to its publication if His Excellency desires it.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI
30th December 1932

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 67]

Minutes of the proceedings of the Joint Executive Council meeting held at the Bombay Secretariat on Tuesday the 3rd January 1933 at 11 a.m.

The question of the attitude of Government towards any legislation regarding temple entry for the untouchables either in the Central or Provincial Legislatures was discussed. The H. M., H. D. explained the views of his Department, which were supported by H. M., L. S. G. and H. M., E. D. The H. ML, R. & F. D. differed and considered that sanction to introduction of Bills on the subject should not be refused by H. E. the Viceroy and that the question should be left to the decision of the Local Legislatures.

The question was left over for further discussion between the H. M., H. D. and R. L. A., and examination of the draft of the letter which the H. D. propose to send to the Government of India on the subject by H. E. the Governor.

(Sd.).....,
3rd January 1933

His Excellency the Governor
(through P. S. G.)

F. H. SYKES
4th January 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 107]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)
Secretary's Note

In the course of conversation with Mr. Starte today I noted several new points bearing on the untouchability campaign :

(1) Immediately after the ' Yeravda Pact' good progress was being made in solving the social secular questions which are of far more immediate importance to untouchables than temple entry viz. question of sharing school and water. The diversion of interest to temple entry has caused these other question to fall into the background and this development is not really welcome to the untouchables. The object of their leader in staging the satyagraha at Nasik was merely to impress on the public especially abroad, that the discrimination against untouchables was a real thing, and

now that this point has been gained and has no doubt influenced the communal award and indirectly led to the great advantage gained in the Yeravda Pact, they do not want to press this particular issue.

(2) The object of the reformers, on the other hand, in specialising on the temple entry question is to assert the position that the untouchables belong to the Hindu fold and thus to increase the strength and claims of the Hindus (and of course of the Congress) for political purposes.

(3) There is a positive disadvantage to the untouchables themselves, since the result has been to consolidate and evolve opposition to them and their claims, whereas had these been limited to social matter the orthodox public would probably have been ready to give way.

(4) The Committees which Gandhi has set up for the untouchability campaign contain practically no untouchables, and caste Hindus have taken almost entire charge of the movement. [This again illustrates point (2), viz. that the untouchables are only pawns in the political game].

(To be placed on the file re : Dr. Subbarayan's other Bills).

(Sd.) R. M. M.
4th January 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8) Part I, p. 3]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
7th January 1933

Dear Sir,

I feel the need of issuing the accompanying statement to the press. In my opinion it is well within the limits of the Government of India decision. But the Government may think otherwise. Before issuing the statement I would like to ascertain the view that they take of the matter. I shall be thankful for an early reply. As I know that there is considerable confusion in the public mind, I am anxious to let them know clearly that they must not look to me for guidance in the choice between civil disobedience and untouchability work. I feel that I owe this much to them.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department. Bombay.

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part I, p. 5]

Of late several Congressmen have been to me and told me that there is much suppressed talk among them about my action in setting up an agitation against untouchability from within the prison walls and that they do not know whether to prosecute civil disobedience or to take an active part in the

campaign against untouchability. I do not wonder at the question. All I have been able to tell these questioners is this :

'For me there is nothing inconsistent in my conduct. It would be foolish, if not sinful, for me if I did not use all the talents that my master has given me, whenever I have the opportunity for their use. I have used all the talents I have for civil disobedience. I found that I had also talents for the service of Harijans which I could use, and I am using them. In doing So, I have abated nothing from my existing *dharma* or obligation. I have added service of the untouchables to it. I had therefore no question before me of making a choice. With those who are outside prison walls, the case, I know, is different. Those who are civil resisters have to decide whether to continue civil disobedience or to take up anti-untouchability work. This is a question I cannot decide for them. I am constitutionally unfit, having entered the prison gates, to guide the movement of civil disobedience in any shape or form. And even if I thought otherwise, I must not guide it as I have bound myself in honour not to take advantage of the considerable latitude given to me regarding untouchability by directly or indirectly and secretly or openly guiding the movement. Everyone therefore has to take his or her decision without reference to me.'

Having adopted this attitude, I have refused to guide even my wife and my son. My appeal for the removal of untouchability lies to every caste Hindu, be the Congressman or other. For the resolution of Bombay arrived at during the ' Fast Week' pledges the honour of every Hindu to remove untouchability, so far as he or she is personally concerned and to induce his or her neighbours to be likewise. The first part is a mere mental performance accompanied by personal conduct wherever corresponding action is called for. The second, that is, the propaganda part, requires every one to make the choice between propaganda and his or her present work, where the former cannot be added to the latter.

Congressmen who are civil resisters are undoubtedly presented with a conundrum ; but that would be only if they would make the vain effort of reading my mind. I think I have made it clear that I have no mind whatsoever for them. When I decided to conduct the untouchability campaign from within the prison, I had not civil resisters in my mind as such, but I had the whole of Hindu society. If that whole fails to respond, civil resisters alone cannot remove the age-long evil. But a civil resister may well feel a special call for doing untouchability work, or, he or she may think that there is no disciplined resistance left in him or her, or that the spirit of resistance is played out, or even that there is no such thing as civil resistance and that all resistance is necessarily uncivil or incivil.

It is obvious that I can offer no useful guidance in the consideration of these problems. These are all matters for those who are outside to judge. If many are filled with doubts, let them confer together and come to a decision

as to the proper course to take. Those who have no doubts may be reminded of the celebrated Sanskrit verse whose exact equivalent perhaps is to be found in the equally celebrated English proverb, 'Much wants more and losses all.'

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI
Yeravda Central Prison,
7th January 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part I, pp. 9 to 11]

Secretary's Note

Reading this statement carefully, I am inclined to think that it is as near as Gandhi will ever get (at least while in jail) to a formal release of his followers from the civil disobedience vow. If it is interpreted in this way it is a very important document. It certainly does not contain anything calculated to promote the c. d. o. movement. On the contrary, it is more likely to plunge all civil resisters into an atmosphere of speculation and uncertainty. There appears therefore no objection to its publication in the press. If Government take this view, the question arises whether permission to publish should be communicated to Gandhi at once, or the text of the proposed statement should be telegraphed first to the Government of India. I should have liked to reply at once as the statement and its covering letter are dated the 7th January although they only reached me today and delay with Gandhi always leads to difficulties. The case is not quite covered by the request at the end of the Government of India semi-official letter of 7th November at p. 1 of the underlying file, since that related to requests made by Gandhi for facilities in pursuing his untouchability campaign. The present statement is however undoubtedly very important and the Government of India might question our allowing its publication without letting them know, as it might change the situation in regard to matters they are dealing with. Perhaps therefore it would be on the safe side to telegraph the text of the statement to the Government of India and say that we propose to allow its publication if they have no objection. In that case it would be as well to inform Gandhi in the meanwhile that it only reached Government today and that definite reply will be sent very shortly.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
10th January

(Sd.) R. D. B.

H.M.,
H.E. (P. S. G.)

This Government seems to offer some encouragement to civil resisters to turn to untouchability work. If this is a blessing it is a mixed one for Government.

The text should certainly be telegraphed to the Government of India with the remark that the Government of Bombay have no objection to offer to its publication.

(Sd,) R. D. B.
10th January

H. E. (P. S. G.)
'Yes'.

F. O. SYKES
10th January 1933

Issue accompanying telegram and put up letter to Inspector-General of Prisons to inform Gandhi as at 'A' of my note.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
10th January

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 3]

TELEGRAM

From
Nageswararao, Narsapur ;
To
Mahatma Gandhi, Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Dated the 9th January 1933

Eight anti-untouchability workers batch including two Harijans arrested while on propaganda in West Godavary.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 5]

The rules relating to Mr. Gandhi's ordinary correspondence are contained in paragraph 3 of Government letter No. S.D. 310, dated the 16th January 1932, while those governing his untouchability correspondence are contained in paragraph 1 of the Government of India, telegram No. 3440, dated the 2nd November 1932.

2. The telegram addressed to Mr. Gandhi will probably be considered as being governed by the latter rules.

3. It is doubtful whether any useful purpose would be served by withholding the telegram. If the event depicted is true, Mr. Gandhi will see an account of it in the newspapers which he receives, or hear about it from one or other of his numerous visitors. If, as is probable, the telegram does not give a correct account of the incident, it may be assumed that Mr. Gandhi is too shrewd

a bird to place entire credence in it without finding an opportunity of verifying the facts. On the other hand the withholding of the telegram might conceivably lead Mr. Gandhi to accuse Government of a breach of faith by the suppression of correspondence and interference with his untouchability work.

Secretary :
H. M.

This is evidently not a matter ' strictly limited to removal of untouchability ', and if not it is objectionable under the ordinary rules and liable to be withheld.

But in practice it is difficult nowadays, as office points out to keep anything from Gandhi or to apply the ordinary rules at all strictly. Anyhow the arrest is not in this Presidency and we cannot say whether it is an untouchable matter or not. So perhaps the telegram may be passed.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
11th January

(Sd.) R. D. B.
11th January

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part I, p. 21]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 119, dated the 12th January 1933

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

Your telegram No. 5 of the 11th instant, Government of India have no objection to the publication of the statement. Communication of sanction however should not be made till Friday as Government of India for reasons of importance desire that statement should not appear in papers on Friday.

[True Copy]

Banker,
Assistant Superintendent
12th January 1933

H. D. (Spl.)

Copies to :

H. M.

H. E. (P. S. G.)

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

The accompanying letter may issue to the Inspector-General of Prisons on Friday evening (he will receive it on Saturday) in view of 'A' of the Government of India telegram.

Secretary :
H.M.

The letter need not be held up till Friday evening as the statement could not then reach the papers even by Saturday morning. The letter may issue on Friday morning (i.e., tomorrow) and the decision will then probably be communicated to Gandhi on Friday night.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
12th January

(Sd.) R. D. B.
12th January

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part I, p. 29]

**Extract from the Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 12,
dated the 17th January 1933**

Mahatmaji explains

Since the beginning of the fast by Mahatmaji for the removal of untouchability, some Congressmen began to think the removal of untouchability was a more important task than the civil disobedience movement. Unfortunately this belief went so deep that some of the civil resisters began to doubt their own action. In his statement issued to the press from behind the bars, Mahatmaji makes the points absolutely clear. He says that when he decided to conduct the untouchability campaign from within the prison he had no civil resisters in mind as such, but he had the whole Hindu society. This statement clearly implies that those Congressmen who believe in c. d. m. should go on doing it with all enthusiasm and vigour. The untouchability work, however important it may be, is to be tackled by others who have not joined the Congress or those Congressmen who are not civil resisters. To the civil resisters this statement means that they have not only not to misdirect their energy, but they have to concentrate their full attention and energy only to accelerate the c. d. m. They know no rest till their greatest civil resister Mahatmaji is in jail. The very fact of his being in jail indicates in unequivocal and unambiguous terms what his statement means.

Let Bombay civil resisters once again concentrate all their attention to this one most important matter, i.e., that of conducting the c. d. m. in a most efficient manner and by doing so fill up the jails. The untouchability campaign

will be properly looked after by others automatically. *Continue the civil disobedience movement at arty cost.*

Assistant Secretary's Note

Place extract with Gandhi's statement.

(Sd.) C. F. B.
19th January

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 19]

ARTHUR ROAD PRISON, BOMBAY
28th January 1933

Beloved Bapu,

This comes to you as a special letter granted me for answering your question regarding transfer. I find it difficult to answer ! You will help me.

The facts are like this :

(1) The causes of my troubles in health are undoubtedly owing to the bad air and want of space.

(2) But just now, after a week of fresh breezy weather my health is better than it has been all the time since I have been in jail. Since December it has been quite passable. Now and then a headache, now and then giddiness (especially on rising after stooping or sitting), occasional reawakening of the skin trouble. I caught within a month of coming here (some sort of little lumps and scabby roughness at the bottom of the back at the base of the spine. When it wakens up it itches like anything), and usually a feeling of such slackness that one has to *make* oneself walk and move about. But just now I feel some energy—as I say I am better than I have been all the while.

(3) I have no confidence as to what the Government may do with me if pressed for transfer, and I may find myself transferred to some other Province, 2 or 3 days post distance away from Yeravda. In that case ' I would rather bear those ills I have than fly to others that I know not of.

What then should I say ? please apply—or—Please don't apply ?

I should probably be able to pull along here pretty well till March. After that I have my doubt. August, September and October were veritable physical torture here. I have won through that, and now it is comparatively easy job till the weather begins to heat up.

Nobody could possible say that I am ill at present, or even in bad health. Yet in a few days I may be feeling wretched. It just depends on the wind and weather which, brings up the sewer gases and refuse stinks.

In this connection I should now tell you of another trouble which threatened at one time, and which did concern me more seriously than any of the others,

and that was swelling of glands in the neck. In my youth I had to undergo a serious operation for the removal of very large glands which formed in the side of my neck, as the result of sewer gases. So when I felt the same symptoms in my neck again, I thought there might be trouble. But that has quite gone off now. I did not want to bother you with undeveloped symptoms. So I had not told you about this before. Of course the tonsil trouble comes and goes, and that is no doubt how the other glands get affected.

I have not been able to see the head Medical Officer, here yet regarding your letter as he only visits the jail once a week and that is on Tuesdays. If you want to have his opinion before deciding anything I have no doubt I should be allowed to send it to you after seeing him on Tuesday.

So Bapu, please guide me—
even your devoted daughter,

(Sd.) MIRA

[*H. D (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 137*]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
1st February 1933

Dear Sir,

On the 30th December I sent you a telegram for submission to His Excellency on the question of what is known as Dr. Subbarayan's Bill regarding Temple Entry. I have had no acknowledgment of it, formal or otherwise. Nevertheless I deem it my duty to make my submission to His Excellency on the decision just announced regarding Sjt. Ranga Iyer's Bills.

Though I feel that it would have served the cause of humanity better, in point of time, if Dr. Subbarayan's Bill had been allowed, I feel thankful that sanction has been granted for the introduction of Sjt. Ranga Iyer's Bills, one of which is drawn after Dr. Subbarayan's disallowed Bill.

My purpose in addressing this submission is to invite His Excellency's attention to some considerations that warrant helpful action by the Government of India regarding the consideration of the Bills by the Assembly at as early a date as is consistent with the importance of the object of the Bills.

Not knowing the procedure of the Assembly, I sought Sjt. M. R. Jayakar's assistance and guidance which he very kindly gave me yesterday. He told me that the Government, if they wished, could make it possible to pass one at least of the Bills during the ensuing session of the Assembly.

If such is the case, I would urge that the Government are morally bound to give such assistance as may be necessary for the speedy consideration of the measures. By the acceptance of the Yeravda Pact relating to the representation of the 'Depressed Classes' now commonly described as 'Harijans', in the legislatures, they bound themselves morally to facilitate as far as it

lay in their power the observance by caste Hindus of all the other conditions of the Pact, which had reference to social and religious matters. Inasmuch as His Majesty's Government endorsed the Legislative part of the Pact, they recognised the representative character of the Conference that passed the various resolutions. One of them is as follows :

'This Conference resolves that henceforth, amongst Hindus, no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth, and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same rights as other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, public schools, public roads and all other public roads and all other public institutions. These rights shall have Statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest acts of the Swaraj Parliament, if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so-called untouchable classes, including the bar in respect of admission to temples.'

It is in due fulfilment of the pledge thus given to the Harijans that the Bills have been brought. They are necessary inasmuch as the English Law of Trusts bars the progress of reform in the shape of opening temples to the Harijans. I am advised that the decisions of British Indian Courts hold it a breach of trust by a trustee who would open temples contrary to the usage prevailing at the time of his entering upon his trust. Therefore it is not open either to the trustees or the congregations of the numerous Hindu temples even if they so wished to admit Harijans if usage shows, as it would show, that the general body of Hindu temples are not open to them on the same terms as to the caste Hindus.

But for decisions based on the English Law of Trusts, it would be possible for Hindu Pandits and the laity to vary the custom and introduce reforms.

The Bills are designed to remove this obstacle to progress and restore the condition that existed prior to the decisions referred to above. His Excellency may not know that cases have already occurred in which Harijans have been fined for entering temples in good faith and for the sole object of offering worship. Hindu religious usage warrants no such punishment. It enjoins purification of the idol and the temple and prescribes purification of caste Hindus in the shape of a bath, but no punishment of the offending worshipper.

Until therefore the Bills are passed or an equivalent is found by the Government, the vital part of the Hindu pledge cannot be performed. For me, personally, holding my life as hostage for the due and timely fulfilment of the pledge, an indefinite prolongation of the impediment is an intolerable agony. And as a prisoner I have I feel a right to seek Government's active assistance.

I ask for no State interference in religious matters. I am personally opposed to it In the present case what is sought is to remove the existing State interference.

I hesitate to point out how the Government can help the introduction of the Bills. It would be presumption on my part to make any such attempt. I hope however that I have shown sufficiently clearly that this is a case for the Government of India to facilitate the progress and passage of the Bills in every way legitimately open to them.

Though I have shown this to some friends, I am not sending it to the press.

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, New Delhi.

I am,
Yours truly,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 151]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
1st February 1933

Dear Mr. Jayakar,

Herewith copy of my letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. I hope I have correctly set-forth your advice. If you could directly write to the Viceroy, I would ask you please to do so.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 153]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
1st February 1933

My Dear Charlie,

I enclose herewith copy of my letter to the Viceroy on the Bills whose introduction he has just sanctioned. I take it that you have already seen my statement on the first Bill. I have not issued any public statement on the sanction for introducing a Bill which is almost a copy of Dr. Subbarayan's Bill, except that it is meant now for the Assembly instead of the Madras Council. It is feared that the Bills, although formal sanction for their introduction has been given, will be shelved unless the Government are helpful and even anxious that the Bills should be considered by the Assembly during the Session that begins on the 3rd instant. You will see my argument in my

letter to the Viceroy. So far as I can judge, it is a conclusive argument making it a moral obligation on the part of the Government to facilitate the immediate consideration of the Bills.

The telegram referred to in my letter to the Viceroy was a long argument urging that sanction should be given for introduction of Dr. Subbarayan's Bill as early as possible.

Love,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. II]

TELEGRAM (FOREIGN)

2nd February 1933

From

Gandhi :

To

Andrews, Woodbrooke Sellyoak,
Birmingham.

Routers summary fair humanly speaking that is logical outcome Viceregal decision what God will direct God alone knows concentrating at present on securing consideration Bills present session Government if willing can help here.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 13]

With reference to Secretary's query, the usual practice in such cases, where telegram from Mr. Gandhi are allowed to go on, is to return them to the Inspector-General of Prisons, and it has always been presumed that the cost of such telegrams is met from Mr. Gandhi's personal allowance. Though not quite definite, the statement at ' A ' of the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison's letter of 18th November 1932, would seem to bear out the above presumption.

Secretary :

May be passed. There is no essential difference between this and other communications regarding the bills which Gandhi is daily making public.

But this can issue as a telegram only on the understanding that Gandhi's allowance is sufficient to pay the telegram charges.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
3rd February

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p, 15]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 505
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 3rd February 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Police,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

In returning herewith the telegram addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the Rev. C. F. Andrews which accompanied your letter No. 74, dated the 2nd February 1933, I am directed to inform you that it may be passed for transmission. Government, however, consider that it should issue as a *telegram* on the distinct understanding that Mr. Gandhi's allowance is sufficient to pay the telegram charges.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) C. F. B.
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 29]

ORIGINAL

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
6th February 1933

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith letter from Shrimati Mirabai (Slade) dated 28th ultimo and handed to me only this day. It speaks for itself. Being in answer to an anxious enquiry from me, the letter might have been given to me earlier. Since this letter was written the usual weekly letter was received in which she stated that she was examined by the Civil Surgeon who had recommended her for transfer. Miss Slade had repeatedly complained to me in her weekly letters about the stench and the stifling atmosphere of Arthur Road Prison and recurring attacks of headache, giddiness, eruptions and the like. But I felt, as she had felt, that as a prisoner she must suffer the hardships of

prison life. It might however be held pardonable, if not even right, in cases causing anxiety about health, for prisoners to bring to the knowledge of superior authority the condition of their health. Acting in accordance with that rule I have approached Government before now, wherever I have felt the necessity of bringing to their notice cases of prisoners in whose welfare I have been interested as if they were my own nearest relatives. The letter enclosed gives a true picture of Miss Slade's health, and her attachment towards me. It has been privilege to me to enjoy that affection. She comes to me with the fullest consent of her late mother and the reluctant consent of her father the late Sir Edmond Slade who never cut off the annuity that he used to give to her. I hardly need to say anything more about her family connections which are better known to Government than to me.

You will notice the dread she has of being sent away to a place further away from me. I wish she was less sensitive, but her sensitiveness has to be taken into account as it so quickly affects her body. I therefore suggest her transfer to the Female Yard attached to this Prison. From all the accounts that I have heard of the Yard it is airy, roomy and much cooler than Arthur Road Prison. She will certainly be happier there.

I suggest too that she be examined by specialists in view of what she says about her glands and the condition of her tonsils. I should be entirely satisfied so long as she is examined by specialists.

It grieves me to have to approach the Government over a delicate and personal matter. But I entertain the hope that perhaps the Government may even appreciate the fact that I have brought this matter to their notice. I shall be thankful for an early decision.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 33]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 2399/3
HOME DEPARTMENT
Bombay Castle, 9th February 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Subject.—Prisoner, Miss Slade (Miraben) :
transfer from Bombay Jail.

Sir,

With reference to your Memo. No. 103, dated the 7th February 1933, forwarding a letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi, dated the 6th February 1933, about the transfer of Miss Slade from the Arthur Road Prison, Bombay, I am directed by the Governor in Council to request that you will be so good as to inform him in reply to his letter that on a report regarding her health from the Medical Officer of the Arthur Road Prison, Bombay, which reached Government on the 2nd instant, orders were issued for her transfer to the Sabarmati Central Prison, where there is an I.M.S., Superintendent and all arrangements can be made which are necessary for her health and that she was transferred there on the 8th instant.

2. The enclosed letter from Miss Slade to Mr. Gandhi which accompanied his letter under reference should also be returned to him.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 81 to 94]

**Original detached and sent to I. G. of Prisons on 19th July 1933
to be delivered to Mr. Gandhi in view of his release**

TRANSLATION

248, WALKESHWAR ROAD Bombay,
12th February 1933

Most Revered Bapuji,

I have been attempting to write a letter to you for the last many days. I even wrote and destroyed several letters. I could not gather courage to send you a letter fearing that it might pain you. But today I have determined to write and send you one. I need not tell you what love and respect I have for you. Not only today, but even during the time of the non-co-operation movement of 1921 when I strongly opposed it in the Assembly and outside it there was not the slightest diminution in my love and respect for you. But today the time has again come when my inner voice is unable to accept your present attitude. What led me to join the present civil disobedience movement ? When you commenced your march for Dandi, I did not believe in the struggle. But as you delivered speeches, one after the other, my mind

changed. In fighting against the British Government you were not merely fighting to replace one form of Government by another Government of a similar type composed of our nationals. But your fight was against the exploitation by men of their fellow-brethren prevalent in various countries as a result of the present day civilisation. It was unbearable to you that a man should crush another, one class should crush another class and one nation should crush another nation. So you had started this struggle against that principle of exploitation. You had stated in your speeches that the British Empire constituted the greatest of this principle. But you had also admitted that the principle had triumphed in our own country in the line of conduct of the higher classes towards the so-called lower classes and that of the high castes towards the so-called low castes. The hope had been born in my mind that your fight would purge out all the blemishes like hypocrisy, diplomacy, and duplicity from the politics of the world and make political life pure. After my disappointment in my commercial life, I had almost retired from public life. But your speeches rekindled the fire lying almost dormant in my heart and revived the high ideals which had filled my mind from my infancy and which had been nourished by the good fortune of association with personages like Mrs. Besant, and it appeared that an opportunity had come to hand to root out from the world one of its greatest calamities. The enthusiasm of my younger days revived, I liked the idea that there should not be the least enmity towards those against whom we were fighting, and armed with the highest of ideals I joined the struggle. Except the service of truth I thought of nothing, neither of any selfish hope of (receiving) any benefit nor of my condition which was not good. In a short time committing an act of civil disobedience I became a prisoner. I did not feel this prison life to be hard and I passed the days there joyously entertaining lofty ideals and dreaming the dreams of my ideal world. The Sardar will also testify to this.

I was released. I saw what was going on in Bombay. But my enthusiasm knew no bounds. I spent 17, 18 and some times even 20 hours (a day) in this same work. I forgot also to eat and drink. I received some shocks at that very time. I looked upon things from the viewpoint of my idealism; hence though I did not like several things, I persuaded myself that such a great fight could not be without blemishes and that they should be overlooked. But gradually I began to be entrapped, and though what was being done in the name of satyagraha was not proper, I reconciled myself more and more to all that and I became also proud of my capacity to do work. I feared that I was failing and (so) I again made a strong speech and was sent to jail. I had hardly remained there two months when prisoners were released as a result of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement and your victory resounded in the whole country. The members of the Congress—from the highest to the lowest had become intoxicated and in the Congress in which I saw the highest form of idealism I found distrust, desire for power and such other low things at work. Selfish exploiters, who had not hesitated even to the slightest

extent to deceive the country and you during the struggle, gathered round you as well as the Sardar in large numbers under the cloak of devotion to you, on the strength of the idea that your power would undoubtedly be established, and they did not even for a moment keep away from you. Some of your devotees were entering the realm of so-called respectability for the first time. So they were dazzled and their eyes were blinded by the curtain of richraen's flattery. In short the Congress full of the highest ideals did not remain in a position to claim that it was on a higher plane than an ordinary institution in the world. Provincial Committees also became centres for intrigues, mean attempts to secure power, mutual recrimination, and similar abominable things.

I shall now come to the present struggle. Many members of the Congress were disappointed by your agreement with Lord Irwin. I myself did not like several things. However, I did not oppose it in any way beyond expressing my opinion to you and to some other friends in the matter. Not only that but I also stopped those who were putting up opposition in an organised manner. But some of my brethren, who did not at all like the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, had no courage to oppose you publicly because a majority formed of innumerable people was at your back. But at least privately they decided to seize an opportunity and recommence the fight and also advised their friends privately to continue the preparations. On this account, before you returned from Europe, they brought about such a situation that you should be compelled to enter into the fight. They had the co-operation of Government. No doubt there appears to be a vast difference between extremism and diehardism, but both are based on trifling principles, which signify short-sightedness, want of foresight and often times blindness due to selfishness and lack of judgment impartially to distinguish between what is right and wrong. You fell into the trap and called upon the whole nation to commence the struggle on a flimsy ground. The good sense of the people and their conscience had been pawned to the working committee, and the Working Committee was you. Government clapped all in jail before any one could get an opportunity to speak anything or express an opinion, and put into force the Ordinances. Many persons like me, had faith in none but you alone and who considered this struggle to be a misfortune, became victims and remaining loyal to you and suppressing their own opinion refused to avail themselves of the opportunity to remain free on parole. Undoubtedly there was opposition to the Government policy, but I frankly tell you that there was very little difference of opinion between the Congress and the Liberals and other political bodies in the matter of political demands after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, and what there was, was not on any question of principle. As soon as your fight started, the shethias who had come to you merely out of self-interest hastily ran away. Many of them were taking advantage even of the evil plight of the country in order to reap profits and, while associating with Congress leaders, even indulged in speculation on the strength of any information they could get.

them to take part in your political activity which entails personal sacrifice. Besides, some have succeeded in throwing dust in the eyes of the leaders and the people by giving a needle in alms after stealing an anvil.

In short, as the present struggle was not launched on (any) principle, it failed to evoke the same interest as was evoked in 1930. The struggle was artificial and now it has reached such a stage that satyagraha has only remained in name and it is difficult of sensible persons to find even a drop of truth in it. What is going on in Bombay at present in the name of satyagraha ? In trivial matters feelings are being excited, factions and feuds are being created between sections of the public, and people are forcibly turned by terrorism, not to your high ideals, but to their own opinion. There are so many things that it is not possible for me to relate them here. But I do not think that you are entirely unaware of them all. To tell the world that we are fighting for truth, truth is our goal, truth is our weapon, and still to continue to connive at such conduct, is in my opinion a downright sin. I do not say that you intentionally connive at this state of affairs. But at least this much I believe that on this occasion you are avoiding to face the situation fairly. A wise man will not oppose your anti-untouchability campaign. But I consider it in the first instance my duty to draw your attention to the injustice you are doing to the thousands of brothers and sisters who, obeying your word, have gone to jail, when you utilise your time in conducting this campaign, accepting as a prisoner conditional freedom which, you are aware, they cannot get. I have read all your explanations (statements) ; but I was not satisfied (with them), and it seems that you have gone to the extreme limit in the last one in which, after starting non-co-operation and making innumerable brothers and sisters to rot in prisons you claim that co-operation is proper. If you consider co-operation to be right in any form it is my humble opinion that instead of playing with the lives of thousands of prisoners, you should call back the civil disobedience movement. Truth is not observed in the fight and if you have directed the attention of the country to the fight for the Harijans and to the co-operation deemed essential therefor, you must call back the non-co-operation movement. The agreement that you cannot call it back as you are a prisoner, is not, in my opinion, right. When you can correspond with the British Government from the prison on the communal award, when sitting there you can carry on the campaign for the Harijans and also can co-operate, no man of commonsense can accept the argument that you cannot call back the movement in which the people have joined only out of respect for your word. I desire to tell you frankly that the fight in the cause of the Harijans is merely an ' escape'. From a great man like you one cannot but expect that if the mass civil disobedience has failed, you must have the strength and courage to admit it. I do not blame you for this, but inherent human weaknesses and shortcomings are to be blamed for it.

I therefore, have come to the conclusion that a man is entitled to indulge in individual civil disobedience on moral and social questions, but from the viewpoint of a satyagrahi it is very difficult, almost impossible, that mass civil disobedience as a weapon for securing political rights can succeed. Pure truth can decidedly have no place in it, because the intellect and the inner soul of the people have no freedom in mass satyagraha. They are handed over to an individual or a body ; and where they are so handed over, how can truth be obtained.

I want to tell you another thing also. The rate at which you go on doing things depending upon your will alone, independently and without caring for anyone, and starting other activities contrary to the declared policy of the Congress—a liberty which is not available to any other prisoner—gives rise to a doubt in my mind that you distinguish in your heart and mind between yourself, i.e., the leader, and the followers. If you believe that the restrictions, which are enjoined upon other prisoners for the sake of discipline, do not apply to you, it is intolerable, because it is this very belief which makes an individual or a class an exploiter of another individual or class.

I have opened today my heart before you giving expression to my feelings. I know that today many people hold the same opinion as I do. But they do not want to take the responsibility of expressing it. Moreover, there is the fear of losing popularity. But I lay claim to this that though in comparison with you I am not equal to the dust of your feet, I have been searching after truth according to my humble light. And a particle of my own experience is more dear to me than the truth of others. Hence it is that, in the hope of serving the truth without caring for the consequences, rather in the full faith that by adhering to truth the consequences would surely be good, I have been emboldened to write to you this letter. I know that there is little likelihood of your feelings being wounded and I also believe that you understand what feelings I entertain for you. I hope and request that you will ponder over this.

Affectionate bows from,

JAMNADAS DWARKADAS

Bows to Sardar and salutations to Mahadevbhai

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 67*]

Secretary's Note

I understand that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas has written a letter to Gandhi urging that the C. D. O. movement should be called off. This letter will probably be referred to us for orders by the Superintendent as it deals with political matters, and the question of whether such a letter can be passed should be considered now.

Gandhi is not allowed to issue communications on the political situation apart from untouchability, but do we know if political communications have been allowed to reach him if not inherently objectionable ? Very few such

letters have been referred to us for orders. Please see what the Government of India said when the whole matter was under review at the Yeravda Pact, and see how the orders have been applied in subsequent instances.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
13th February

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 171]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 643
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 14th February 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. S.D. 488, dated the 2nd February 1933, I am directed to request that you will communicate to Mr. Gandhi the following reply of the Government of India to his letter of the 1st February 1933 to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy :

'The Governor General in Council has carefully considered the points urged by Mr. Gandhi in his letter of the 1st February 1933, addressed to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, in which he requests that, for the reasons stated therein, the Government of India should facilitate the progress and passage of the Bills regarding Temple Entry, which will be introduced in the Assembly by Mr. Ranga Iyer and others. He is unable to accept the arguments developed by Mr. Gandhi relating to the Poona Pact, and notes that the resolution he has quoted did not form part of the Pact as communicated to the Government of India. In the matter of the Pact, Government were concerned merely to accept a modification of the representation in the Legislatures which had been provided in the communal award of His Majesty's Government. But quite apart from the Pact, the Government have for many years taken an active interest in the improvement of the conditions under which the depressed classes live. That interest has been directed to the matters referred to in the resolution which he quotes, such as education and the provision of the normal facilities of life, which were placed in the forefront of the resolution, but appear not to be regarded by him as the vital part of it. The Government have naturally taken no initiative in matters which specifically affect religious practice. In regard to that, they have nothing to add to the statement issued to the press on 23rd January. They must reiterate that in their

opinion it is essential that the consideration of a measure, which so closely affects the religious customs and usages of the Hindu Community, should not proceed unless the proposals are subjected to the fullest examination in all their aspect, not merely in the Legislature, but also outside it, by all who will be affected by them. This purpose can only be satisfied if the Bill is circulated in the widest manner for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, and if adequate time is given to enable all classes of Hindus to form and express their considered views.'

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) R. M. M.,
 Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 69]

With reference to Secretary's note of 13th February 1933, it may be observed that as stated by Secretary, very few communications addressed to Mr. Gandhi which were objectionable politically have been referred to Government for orders by the jail authorities as they do so only in doubtful cases. Such letters as have been forwarded to Government for orders have, with one or two exceptions, invariably been withheld as will be seen from the pages slipped off in Files No. 800 (40) (3), Pts. I and III put up. These however were not all after the Yeravda Pact. The exceptions above referred to were—

(a) (*before the Pact*) the letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by one Mr. M. A. Khan of Ferozepore, which will be found at pp. 17-23 of File No. 800 (40) (3), Pt. II (with Mr. Gandhi's reply at p. 187 of the same file) ; and

(b) (*after the Pact*) the copy of the ' Text of the Agreement arrived at by the Committee of the Unity Conference ' of Allahabad *vide* pp. 455-59 of File No. 800 (40) (3), Pt. III.

It may be noted that the substance of the communication mentioned at (a) appears to be somewhat similar to what Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is said to have now written to Mr. Gandhi.

2. It is not known whether or not the jail authorities, in exercise of the discretion allowed them by the rules regarding censorship of Mr. Gandhi's correspondence, have allowed any other similar communications to be delivered to Mr. Gandhi, but it would seem from ' A ' of the letter No. * 9628, dated 12th October 1932, from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison to the Inspector-General of Prisons, that they have not.

* P. 335, File 800 (40) (3), Pt. III—The letter from Mandlik to Gandhi about which Secretary asked on another case was not brought to the notice of Government by the jail authorities, and, if it was ever written, it was probably withheld by the Superintendent.

3. With regard to 'A' of the Secretary's note, it may be observed that when, after the Yeravda Pact and Mr. Gandhi's threat to resume his fast if he was not given a free hand to conduct his anti-untouchability campaign, the Government of India removed all restrictions on visitors, correspondence and publicity, they made * it clear that such removal was only in regard to matters which had *no reference to civil disobedience* and were strictly limited to the removal of untouchability. A little later, in reply to Mr. Gandhi's enquiry as to why his telegrams to certain Moslem leaders on the subject of Hindu-Moslem unity were withheld, the Government of India † informed him that 'his position as the leader of the civil disobedience movement, which is still his avowed programme, makes it necessary to detain him as a State prisoner, and as a prisoner he cannot expect to take part in the ordinary public life of the country or the discussion of political questions, even though they have no connection with civil disobedience', and that therefore they were not prepared to give Mr. Gandhi facilities to deal with such questions.

4. Strictly speaking, therefore, to allow Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' letter to be passed for delivery to Mr. Gandhi, would not be consistent with the policy being followed in this connection. At the same time, since exceptions have been made in the past and in view of the fact that even if the letter accomplished no good it could do no harm, there would appear to be no objection to its being passed for delivery. The Superintendent of the Prison could be asked to refer to Government any reply which Mr. Gandhi might wish to send to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, and if it was found to be in any way objectionable it could be withheld. It will be recognised of course that this procedure would not be strictly logical. If Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' letter is allowed to go through and Mr. Gandhi's reply to it withheld for any reason, it might be difficult to justify such action should Mr. Gandhi be disposed, as he well might, to provoke a quarrel. He could quote examples of the rigid application of the Government of India's orders as provided by the following instances :

P. 441 of File 800 (40) (4)—(I) The withholding of his telegrams to certain Moslem leaders in connection with the Hindu-Moslem Unity Conference.

P. 33, Ibid.—(II) The disallowance of his reply to Lord Sankey's appeal to him to call off the c. d. o. movement, and

Page 25, Ibid.—(III) The explanation called for from him by the Government of India of the interview he gave to a correspondent of the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras with regard to (II) ;

* G. of I. telegram No. 2440, dated 2nd November 1932, P. 357, File 800 (40) (4).

† Government of India letter No. 3047-Poll, dated 16th November 1932, p. 441, File 800 (40) (4) : also questions and answers in the Assembly at pp. 419-37 the same file.

while as an outstanding instance of the relaxation of the rules he could quote his recent statement, which was allowed to be published, for the guidance of Congressmen in their choice between carrying on civil disobedience and doing anti-untouchability work.

5. The position is admittedly difficult, and it might perhaps be wise and more expedient to consult the Government of India before committing ourselves to a definite line of action which might eventually lead to complications.

Secretary,

15th February 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, pp. 123-25]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON Dated
15th February 1933

Dear Major Bhandari,

There are two matters that I have discussed with you, with which you have told me you have no authority to deal.

The first matter relates to the supply of newspapers to me in terms of the orders of the Government of India, giving me special facilities about untouchability propaganda. Somehow or other hitherto I have managed to cope with my work in spite of restrictions that you have been exercising about newspapers addressed to me. I have already drawn your attention to very important matters escaping my notice owing to the non-delivery of these papers. However careful your staff may be, they cannot always be sure of having all the cuttings relating to untouchability in the papers received. Some papers such as Dr. Ambedkar's I have to look through fully and carefully. So far as I read the Government of India orders they contemplate no restrictions on the prompt receipt by me of correspondence and newspapers. It is obvious that I cannot carry on propaganda, if I do not get such things in proper time. I therefore ask that all the newspapers received for me and which do not come under the heading of 'prohibited literature' should be delivered to me as they arrive. Of course they may be taken away from me as soon as I have used them. I need hardly repeat the assurance that I have no use for them save for the one purpose to which all my energy and attention are being exclusively directed. I shall therefore thank you to obtain necessary and early instructions in the matter.

The second matter is about the new weekly *Harijan* which is being published in Poona in the interest of the Servants of Untouchables' Society. Its policy is naturally being controlled by me as it has been published at my instance. It has therefore to deal exclusively with questions relating to

untouchability only and therefore it is a purely socio-religious weekly. I asked you whether copies could be sent to my associates and fellow prisoners whether belonging to ' B' Class or ' C' Class. I would thank you if you will kindly ask for Government's Instructions on my request. I may draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in 1922, when I was admitted into this prison as a convicted prisoner and when in all other matters except food and sanitary conveniences I had no facilities given to me except what were permitted to other prisoners, there never was any difficulty about my getting newspapers of a purely socio-religious character. I hope therefore there will be none this time about the giving of *Harijan* to my friends the fellow prisoners.

Lastly will you please convey my thanks to the Government for their very prompt attention to my letters about Shrimati Miraben (Slade) and Appasaheb Patwardhan.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[True Copy]
(Sd.) M .G. Bhandari

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 121]

CONFIDENTIAL

Confl. No. 158 of 1933.
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 16th February 1933

From

Major M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith copy of a letter addressed to me by State prisoner, M. K. Gandhi.

As regards paragraph 2 of the letter Mr. Gandhi is allowed certain newspapers as sanctioned in Home Department (Political) letter No. S.D. 310, dated 16th January 1932. Since he started this untouchability work he wants to see practically all the newspapers that may be received for him in this office. As according to Government orders sent under No. 1033, dated 13th November 1932 from the Inspector-General of Prisons, I am expected to maintain a general watch over the newspapers that he gets. I started giving him cuttings relating to untouchability from all the papers. He does not

appear to be satisfied with it, as certain article published in *Free Press Journal* was overlooked and not given to him.

With reference to paragraph 3 of his letter no newspapers are allowed to 'C' class prisoners. 'B' class prisoners are allowed *Times of India* and a vernacular weekly paper.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 57]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
19th February 1933

Dear Mr. Jaykar,

I enclose herewith a copy of the reply received from the Government and of my reply thereto.

In view of this, could you not send me for publication as early as you can your opinion, if you can give it, that neither of the Bills contains any element of compulsion or constitutes any interference with religious observance, *and generally supporting*, if you can do so, *my argument in my reply to the Government letter*, without of course making any reference to that letter ?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 151 to 160]

TRANSLATION

New Era School,
Gowalia Tank, Bombay-7,
Sunday, 19th February 1933

Revered Bapuji,

I have long wished to write to you what I am writing to you today; but I restrained this wish of mine. As I was in the Ahmednagar hospital as a prisoner, I was not in a position to write such a letter.

It may perhaps be considered disrespectful that an insignificant man like me should write a letter to a personage like you, and with that idea I refrained from writing to you so far. During this my long illness I have passed through a very severe mental struggle. This struggle does not exist today. What I am writing to you today is not merely an outburst of my feelings, but it is the truth born of my mental struggle.

There is also another reason for writing; this letter to you. I know that you are a very broad minded person. I also know that you are not only ready to understand fully your opponents, but you are perfectly willing to admit your error if the viewpoint of the opposite party appears to be correct. Hence in writing this letter I am not at all afraid that there will be a misunderstanding about me in your mind.

I have directly associated myself with the Congress and its activities only for the last three years or, in other words, after the Lahore Congress. Before that, of course I was connected with the youth movement for two or three years. But I do not propose to write anything about it. This letter is only concerning my connection with the Congress. I have entertained for many years the beautiful ideals of sacrificing my life for the sake of the country's independence. Several individuals and bodies have been working in the country to secure its independence, but to me personally all of them appeared to be lifeless, without any ideal, and owing to the inertia and inaction of those bodies I was not attracted to them. I saw life in the Congress under your leadership, saw ideals, and it appeared to me that under your guidance the country would undoubtedly be able to satisfy her aspiration, the Congress alone would be able to safeguard the interest of the crores of Indians, give contentment to the poor of India and secure for India her proper place among the nations of the world. This idea always stimulated my mind. Owing to this splendid idea in regard to the Congress, owing to inspiring speeches during your Dandi March and owing to the hope I entertained to make the country free, I joined the struggle of 1930 and was sent to prison twice in connection therewith. Thereafter came the settlement of 1931. Many were dissatisfied with it. I also was dissatisfied with it. If you remember it, immediately after that settlement when you came to Ahmedabad, I asked you a number of questions—and to tell the truth not a single answer of yours satisfied me. I am still unable to understand why you changed the goal of the Congress ' Swarajya within the Empire if possible—without the Empire, if necessary '. Looking to the terms of the settlement, the resolution of the Karachi Congress and your speeches at the second Round Table Conference and other speeches, I find that there is very little difference between your political demands, i.e., the political demands of the Indian National Congress, and those of the Indian Liberals, and what little difference there is, is in regard to details. Do you not think that you have shattered the unity, established in the country as a result of the All Parties Conference and the Simon Commission, for the sake of mere words—by declaring complete independence as the goal of the Congress ? You would say that the youths of the country forced you to adopt that course. I do not believe it. You are a devotee of truth, and you are ready to face the opposition of the whole world for the maintenance of what you consider to be the truth. Hence it is that I am unable to reconcile at all your resolution to change the goal of the Congress with your subsequent writings. Do you not think that what is most needed in the country at present

is political unity ? When there is very little difference between your demands and those of the Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, do you not believe that the country has suffered by the breach in the unity as a result of your action ? I am of opinion that the Congress under your leadership can still fulfil the political ambitions of the country by uniting all the parties. Do you not consider the course to be more beneficial than your present activities !

You have stated at times out of number that this political struggle of India is based on truth. I have not been able to understand this. To speak the truth, from the standpoint of a real student I have tried to search out truth in the present struggle, but I have been so far unable to find it. In my opinion to call this struggle, a struggle of truth is meaningless, and in calling it so we are making merely false show before people outside India. I have no doubt that you might have been led by truth. But it is not possible to find a particle of truth in the movement started by you. Personal animosity, mutual jealousy, greed for power, intolerance and dishonesty are seen at every step. Looking to the various events which take place in the course of the movement, the language which is used in the bulletins, the efforts made at all costs to show that the Congress movement is going on—looking to all this no one can but be pained. I do not think that any commander would tolerate the demoralisation which prevails in the ranks of the Congress. You must hardly be unaware as to how much the merchants who honour the word of the Congress have been harassed on the ground that this their attitude is due to their weakness. Not only that, but those who add more to the poverty of the very poor for whom the Congress claims to stand—those who cause a loss of crores of rupees to the country—those who taking advantage of this struggle make profits of lakhs of rupees—sit by your side and are respected by the public. I ask you, do you call this truth ? I admit that it is sheer madness to expect truth from the whole country. And hence it is that I consider such a movement to be harmful to the country—to the public, because as a result thereof numerous undesirable elements find a place in public life. Individually a man is entitled to make all experiments of truth, but do you not think that there lies serious harm in making such experiments collectively ?

I remember that you have written so many times, ' If Swaraj can be secured by violence. I do not want it.' I admit that violence which can openly be called violence has not been done in this struggle, i.e., bloodshed has not taken place ; but I think your definition of violence does not end here. I need not tell you what an amount of intolerance has entered our public life as a result of the present struggle of the Congress and owing to the arrogance due to the triumph of the Congress in 1930. Independence of thought or conduct have almost become impossible today. The right of expounding one's opinion has been taken away from the people. Life has become intolerable for any one who writes or speaks against your views. It is no exaggeration to say that terrible harassment is being exercised under

the pretext that in a province like Gujarat discipline is necessary in public life. Independent thought is today strangled there (in Gujarat). I personally know several persons in Gujarat who have much to say against the policy of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. But they feel that to give expression to this opinion of theirs is to be wiped out of the public life of Gujarat. I do not talk of the whole country—but do you think that there is independent public life in Gujarat ? In my opinion what the Congress has done in the villages of Gujarat has been so far for the rich in those villages. Though you have stated several times that the Congress stands for the poor, have not those, who attempted to reach the poor, been often prevented from so doing ? I have several times seen Congress workers entertaining the fear lest the co-operation of the rich of the villages might be lost to them. I have much to say against our present day youth movement, but you might not perhaps be aware of what it has had to suffer at the hands of the Congress workers simply because it has loudly protested against the strangulation of independent thought and conduct. I know the difficulties I had to experience as an organiser of that movement. Those who go to jail, who say ditto to all that you say even without understanding it, who obey all orders of the conductors of the Congress, are the only persons who do service to the country, while the rest are traitors—this is the idea which has now entered our public life. The feeling of self-respect has no place in the public life at present. There is no trace of tolerance. Do you think this to be proper ? Do you not think this to be one kind of violence ? For (even) those who have been serving the country for several years it has become difficult to get today a platform to expound their views, simply because they differ from you. And as a result of this strangulation of independent thought and conduct, dishonesty, hypocrisy, discourtesy have entered our public life. No public worker will wish for these elements. You will say, ' I have always written against this, I have maintained courtesy and respect.' I have nothing to say against you, but on that account you cannot escape the responsibility for these elements which have entered into our public life. You have roused the feelings of the people, you have roused their ardour ; you have put into motion the latent forces of the public ; and as a result of this ardour people go to any length today. And, to speak the truth, after once awakening these forces, you are unable to check them. Hence the real responsibility lies with you. I think that such must be the consequence of a movement like satyagraha. This evils are unavoidable when satyagraha is launched on mass basis. And hence satyagraha can only be individual. I think that just as Swaraj secured by violence is not acceptable to you, similarly Swaraj secured by hypocrisy, dishonesty and discourtesy should not be acceptable to you if you admit this, do you not think that the movement you are carrying on is harmful to the country ?

I am opposed to your very method of work. In everything you do you put forth only your personality, and so, what people do they do for your

sake, and not with true understanding. I have observed the work of the Congress for a few years, not as an outside spectator, but as one belonging to it. I have seen only this tendency in the whole of this movement. The Congress workers in their speeches take very little trouble to explain matters to the people. They do not make them think. They merely rouse their emotions. They simply preach that they (the people) should do this much for the sake of you or the Sardar. It has appeared to me as if the Congress is an institution only for your missionary work. I do not say that you have assented to it—but the result is that the whole Congress movement rests on the emotions of the people, and not on their intellect. And so, in every activity of the Congress there is only a clever exploitation of the poor peasantry of the country. But we see today what evil consequences result from rousing only the emotions of the country. The Congress has not tried to educate the public and I am not at all surprised that the present satyagraha movement has failed. There is no reason why a movement resting on mere emotions should succeed. The Congress has made no attempt to impart political education to the people. We shall have to admit that the Congress possesses emotions, enthusiasm, but does not possess intellect. And any movement resting on uncontrolled emotions is extremely harmful to the public because one cannot say to what limits it will go before it stops. You have had an opportunity greater than any other leader in India ever had. For the last fourteen years you have been the dictator of India. You could have educated the country politically if you had wanted to. In my opinion it is one of the duties of a leader to make people think. As a result of it, people would be able to understand every action with the help of their own intellect. Do you believe that any change that has been brought about by mere emotions will prove lasting without a change of mind. From the present method it seems that Swaraj means the dictatorship of the Congress, i.e., the rejection of the one evil for another after so much sacrifice. Hence in this movement resting on mass emotions there is not the well being of the people, but only their exploitation. You will pardon me for writing so frankly, but I think it essential to place before you what seems true to me. How do you, who are a devotee of truth, like to be the cause of this exploitation ? Not only from the political, but also from the moral viewpoint I hold this movement to be harmful for the country, for the public. Do you not admit this ?

I do not desire to write anything regarding your untouchability activity. I myself do not at all believe in untouchability and hence there is no reason why I should oppose it (i.e. the activity). Yet the whole of your temple entry movement appears to me to be meaningless and altogether useless. But I would not enter into any discussion about it. My objection is only to the fact that you are conducting this activity sitting in jail. I cannot understand this curious haste for the uplift of the Harijans. How can you, in accordance with your principles, accept the conditional freedom granted to you by Government ? Is not carrying on this Harijan movement from jail, in a way, like

giving an understanding ? And is not the freedom that has been granted to you to that extent, to carry on the Harijan movement, also conditional ? Besides, by launching this Harijan activity at present have you not diverted your mind from satyagraha ? And I cannot also understand how you can avail yourself of the freedom which is denied to thousands of prisoners who have gone to jail obeying your word. In very truth you are today acting faithlessly to these prisoners. Instead of (carrying on) the very satyagraha for which these prisoners are rotting in jail you are today occupying yourself and your followers with the Harijans. I feel surprised that in the course of a speech at Matunga Shri Rajgopalaehari said, ' Today the work for the Harijans is more important than the acquiring of Swarajya.' Do you believe this ? If you do believe it, why do you not say so publicly, so that the prisoners now rotting in jail may obtain their freedom ? In spite of your numerous statements I have not been able to understand the secret of this movement of yours. Over and above this, you have simply transgressed all bounds by supporting the Temple Entry Bills to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly. Your phrase ' Non-co-operation for co-operation' seems to be incomprehensible. I for one cannot understand and your hope to get these Bills passed through those very Councils which you had caused people to boycott as being ' temples of illusion', and about which you had stated that they were not composed of the—representatives of the country. Why do you go to the help of those very members of the Legislative Assembly whom the people once called traitors to the country and gave various (other) harsh names ? Is it wrong to believe that you admit that the present day Councils are also useful for the advancement of the country? Have you not taken up the attitude that whatever good can be secured through the present day Councils should be secured ? I shall not write (anything) regarding your fast—only, I believe this much that thereby you have been setting a very bad example in public life. I am afraid the consequence of this will be dangerous.

The letter is already very long. There is still much to write about. But I shall not trouble you more. Only, in view of all this, I would pressingy request you to call back this satyagraha movement. I have been convinced that from the political and moral point of view the movement is harmful to the country. To prolong it for a single day seems to be harmful to me. I think the false bogey of prestige cannot come in your way, and it is therefore that I make this request. Do you not believe that the greatness of a true commander lies in calling off a fight at the right moment ? Is it not true that a satyagrahi cares for his honour, and not for reputation ? When there is not a particle of truth (left) in the fight which you commenced on truth, and when hypocrisy, animosity and dishonesty have found a place (herein, do you not feel that the honour of the satyagrahi is being lost? Personally I feel that I am degrading myself in connecting my name with this movement even for a moment. Hence it is that I request you with

utmost earnestness to call back this movement and give the Congress members an opportunity to consider once again the Congress creed. I think that you should come out of the jail and convene a conference of all parties in the country and employ the country's energy in the constructive work of constitution making. It is my firm belief that this and the settlement of the communal question is for you a more important work than your present day activity. And I am not alone in this belief. Many other brothers with whom I had a talk think the same. Perhaps they may not write to you. Perhaps they may not gather courage to make public their views. But I assure you that there are many such persons, and many of these have been to jail in response to your call. And so this my request receives support. You will tell me, 'Have faith in me—Everything will be all right.' But unfortunately I have not such a religious mentality, and I did not join this movement for any religious quest. I am convinced that the consequence of what to my intellect seems to be untrue can never be good. Hence I have not the patience to have faith in untruth. You will say, 'What can I do while I am in jail, I cannot take part in politics.' To me this argument seems to be meaningless. Not only that but with (the help of) this argument you are attempting to run away consciously from the true state of affairs. You yourself have said that to you 'politics and religions are not different things.' If guided by *dharma* (religion) you can do service to the Harijans while remaining in jail, I think that it is also your highest *dharma* (duty) to call back satyagraha. In this lies true service of the country. This is an opportunity to purify public life. This is the true observance of truth and *ahimsa*. This is the way to stop the exploitation of the people. My only desire is that for the good of the country you should stop the fight.

Inspired by the very ideal for which I had joined the fight—led by the same noble aspiration to sacrifice my life in the service of the country—I have written this letter to you. This ideal of mine has not been dimmed at all. But I crave your pardon if I have written anything disrespectful in this letter. I feel that I would have done injustice to myself and to my ideal if I had not written such a plain and honest letter.

Now I shall stop. May I expect a reply from you ?

With bows from
ROHITA MEHTA
(Sd.) A. K. M. HUSAIN.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (7), p. 177]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
19th February 1933

Sir,

I thank you for the reply to my letter addressed to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, dated the 1st instant. There are two things about which I would like to make brief observations.

The Government have assumed without just cause that education and the provision of the normal facilities of life' are not considered by me as the vital part of the resolution referred to therein. It was wholly irrelevant to the purpose of my letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to state what was being done by me or through me in connection with these things. Indeed I have shown in my writings being published in the course of the controversy that education and the like were being prosecuted with all the vigour possible and that the pace would be quadrupled by the temples being opened to the Harijans.

As to the two measures now before the legislature, I may be permitted to point out that they are not intended to affect ' religious customs and usages of the Hindu community'. They are specially designed to leave that question to the community itself. The law as it stands makes impossible the operation of the Hindu mind on certain religious customs and usages, and the measures are designed to release the Hindu mind from those fetters. I would submit that it is the duty of Government, which is pledged to neutrality in religious matters, to free the reformers from the shackles not of religious customs, but of the law. For, had it not been for the law, it would have been open to the trustees, with the consent of the temple goers, to change the custom. Nor may it be forgotten (that the Bills have come before the legislature as a result of the formation of a very strong body of public opinion in favour of the change of custom.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The Secretary,
Home Department, Delhi

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 81 to 95]

Submitted for orders with reference to the notes at pages 1-6 *ante*.

2. Now that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' letter has been received and on further consideration of the question whether or not it should be delivered to Mr. Gandhi, office ventures to submit that Government would be well within their rights in adopting the course suggested at ' A' of the office note at page 5, at the same time reporting to the Government of India the action taken.

3. A letter *addressed* to Mr. Gandhi in jail has obviously entirely a different value to a letter *addressed by* Mr. Gandhi in jail to a person or persons outside. Government, have the inherent power to exercise their discretion in relaxing or tightening the restrictions imposed by them for the adequate control of a State prisoner under the regulation and their attitude on such matters must necessarily be dictated by the merits and circumstances of each case as it arises.

4. Though not exactly analogous, supposing Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas had, as he originally intended to do, published his letter as an open letter to Mr. Gandhi in one of the newspapers which Mr. Gandhi receives. Mr. Gandhi could not on that account claim to reply as a matter of right. His mind was disabused on that score when he gave an interview to a correspondent of the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras in connection with Lord Sankey's appeal to him to call off the c. d. o. m. On the other hand it would probably not be seriously disputed that if Mr. Gandhi's reply to Lord Sankey had been other than it actually was, the decision on his request to have his reply published might have been different, or in other words, circumstances alter cases.

Note.—His reply to Lord Sankey was not allowed to be published, but Mr. Gandhi was not informed of the decision of Government.

Secretary.

H. M.

H. E. (P. S. G).

This is the letter which Mr. Jamnadas wishes to publish simultaneously with the publication of the proposed Government communique regarding the remission of his sentence. The text of the latter is not among these papers, but it was proposed to say that Mr. Jamnadas had assured Government that his views regarding civil disobedience had changed and that he intended to take no part in it in future. Mr. Jamnadas, for personal reasons, did not wish this communique to appear without making his position clear to the public and at the same time did not wish to publish anything without having previously addressed himself to Gandhi. He therefore addressed this letter to Yeravda Prison (without previously informing Government, but of course knowing that Government could withhold it if they thought fit). The Superintendent, Yeravda Prison, sent it to the Oriental Translator as it was in Gujarati and he could not understand it, and we have obtained the translation direct from the O. T. so the matter has not formally been referred to Government for orders regarding its transmission to the prisoner, but it will save time if we consider the matter now and give instructions to the Superintendent.

The principle followed in censoring Gandhi's correspondence is to withhold objectionable communications, and so far as known (for only doubtful cases are referred to Government) the letters withheld have been these written for objects which were definitely contrary to public policy. Mr. Jamnadas' letter is not of this character and we have already allowed one letter of somewhat similar import to be delivered to Gandhi, namely (viz.) Mr. Khan's letter at pp. 17-23 of file 800 (40) (3), Pt. II.

I do not think Government need feel themselves concerned in what is a personal matter between Mr. Jamnadas and Gandhi. Mr. Jamnadas is solely responsible for what he writes and what he does with the letter after-

wards, and Government do not mind whether he publishes it or not; all that we are concerned with is whether he agrees to the publication of the proposed communique as a condition of the remission of his sentence, and if he wishes to take certain steps first, which do not involve any special concession on the part of Government; we need not prevent him.

I think therefore that the Superintendent, Yeravda Prison may be authorised to deliver the letter.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

19th February

H. M.,

H. E. (P. S. G.)

I think we must be consistent in refusing to deliver to Mr. Gandhi letters regarding politics and the civil disobedience movement. We cannot allow him to enter into correspondence on these matters and it is not proper that he should be pestered with personal letters to which he cannot reply in terms similar to those in which he is addressed. Even letters like the one on this file condemning the civil disobedience movement should be withheld. When the writer of the letter is convict negotiating for his release this course is to me quite clear. This position must apparently be maintained till Government decide to give facilities to Mr. Gandhi to discuss with others the political situation in order to enable him and his associates to reconsider their position.

It is true that Mr. Jamnadas will be free, if he is released, to publish his letter in the press and that Mr. Gandhi will probably see the published letter. But this is an entirely different position. Mr. Jamnadas will then be a free man to write as he likes to press like any other free man.

Mr. Jamnadas's letter should be withheld and he should now be asked to agree in writing to the correctness of the statement already approved for communication to the press by the Director of Information and to assent to its publication. He can do what he likes as regards the letter, withheld and I see no objection in the circumstances to letting him know that it has been withheld. I have also no objection to him knowing when the 'approved statement' will be communicated to the press by the Director of Information.

Although Mr. Jamnadas is not quite so important a person as he thinks he is it is advisable to let the Government of India know what we are doing. They may be informed by wire that Government propose to release Mr. Jamnadas at present on parole on his agreeing to the publication of a statement that he has agreed to take no further part in the civil disobedience Movement and that on final release Mr. Jamnadas is likely to publish a letter

addressed to Mr. Gandhi which was withheld. The letter gives Mr. Jamnadas reasons why the civil disobedience movement should be discontinued.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
20th February 1933

H. E. (P. S. G.)
(Sd.) F.H. S.
21st February 1933

The Superintendent should be informed that the letter has been withheld. Under H. M.'s instructions the matter has been included in the weekly letter regarding Mr. Gandhi instead of sending a wire to the Government of India.

The reply to Mr. Jamnadas will issue in H. D. File 1475/3.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
21st February.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, pp. 127-33]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

With regard to the first point raised by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, viz., about the supply to him of newspapers, it may be noted that under the rules contained in Government letter* No. S.D. 310, dated 16th January 1932, Mr. Gandhi is allowed the following newspapers and periodicals : The *Times of India*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Leader of Allahabad*, the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Modern Review*, *Young India* and the *Navjivan*. After the restrictions on interviews, correspondence and publicity were removed by the Government of India in regard to matters connected with untouchability, Mr. Gandhi represented that he might be allowed certain other newspapers, in addition to those mentioned above, in order that he might keep himself fully acquainted with public opinion and so do his propaganda work thoroughly. Government granted his request but directed that the Superintendent of the Prison, without attempting to censor the newspapers, should nevertheless keep a general watch on them. In carrying out these orders the Superintendent states he has adopted the expedient of giving Mr. Gandhi only cuttings of articles, etc., relating to untouchability from the newspapers. This, it is submitted, is all that Mr. Gandhi could desire but as usual, he is not satisfied and asks for more: he wants all the newspapers received for him delivered to him intact as soon as they arrive.

* In File 800 (40) which has been put up with another case. See however the summary of orders, re : Mr. Gandhi's privileges as a State prisoner, put up (flag ' A '). Papers in File 800 (40) (3). Part 111 (Not available having been put up with another case).

He bases his demand on the statement that certain 'very important matters' have escaped his notice because the Prison Staff, however careful they may be, cannot always make sure that all cuttings regarding untouchability are taken from the newspapers. It may be observed, however, that the Superintendent of the Prison says that only *One* article in the *Free Press Journal* was overlooked.

2. Dr. Ambedkar's newspaper, which Mr. Gandhi especially refers to, is the *Janata*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly published in Bombay. It deals with social and political matters and its tone is pro-Government * *vide* Serial No. 357 at pages 58-59 of the statement of newspapers and periodicals put up.

3. The Government of India's orders permitting Mr. Gandhi special facilities in regard to untouchability work, which Mr. Gandhi in his present letter interprets as contemplating no restrictions on the prompt receipt by him of *newspapers*, are contained in the Government of India telegram † No. 2440, dated 2nd November 1932. It will be seen that, as remarked by Secretary, only the restrictions on visitors, correspondence and *Publicity* have been removed and *newspapers* are not mentioned at all. As the orders stand at present, therefore, they do not appear to permit of any interpretation being placed on them such as that attempted by Mr. Gandhi.

In the circumstances, Mr. Gandhi's request is for orders.

4. As regarded Mr. Gandhi's other request, viz., regarding the supply of copies of the *Harijan* to 'B' and 'C' Class prisoners, as this is a matter pertaining to H. D. (Proper), relevant extracts from Mr. Gandhi's letter and the forwarding letter of the Superintendent of the Prison, were made over to them with reference to Secretary's note in the margin of page 1 and they have put up the necessary files please see the linked case II. From the orders quoted in the H. D. o. n. of ‡ 20th February 1933 on that case it would seem that so far as 'A' and 'B' Class prisoners are concerned, if Government approve of the *Harijan* weekly and provided the prisoners prefer to have it in preference to the vernacular weekly which they now get, the *Harijan* could be supplied to them free by Government at the rate of one copy for every six prisoners. Or alternatively, if the prisoners are prepared to pay for their copies, they could have the *Harijan* in addition to the other vernacular weekly which they already receive.

5. The case of 'C' Class prisoners is, however, different. Hitherto they do not appear to have been recognised at all in this respect (no reference is made to them in the orders quoted) and if the *Harijan* were now supplied to them, even on payment, it seems that an awkward and undesirable precedent would be established.

* File 'N'.

† Copy put up—Flag N' (File containing original not available).

‡ Page 8 of linked cases.

Secretary :

It will be necessary to see the orders referred to at ' A '. Please put up as soon as available.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

21st February

This seems the only possibility as 6 prisoners have to share each weekly papers and all may not be interested in the *Harijan*. Mr. Gandhi forgets that not all ' B ' Class prisoners are c. d. o. therefore also that all can read English.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

The Government of India have allowed Mr. Gandhi unrestricted facilities, ' untouchability ' work in respect of visitors, correspondence and publicity. He now demands a removal of all restrictions in regard to newspapers, which may of course deal with many other matters to which Mr. Gandhi is not supposed to have access as a State prisoner. The difficulty has hitherto been dealt with by allowing him to have only cuttings dealing with untouchability, but this procedure no longer satisfies him.

2. Since in practice the facilities now allowed enable Mr. Gandhi to enjoy almost unrestricted communication with the outside world, it does not appear that the removal of restrictions on newspapers would make much practical difference. The two main objects of his incarceration are that he should not be able to direct the civil disobedience movement and that he should not participate in its activities in person. These two objects are still served by his detention at Yeravda while the third being that he should not be kept in the public eye, has already been sacrificed by the publicity allowed him in regard to untouchability.

3. It seems therefore that his first request may be allowed on the condition which he offers namely that he should return the papers to the Superintendent as soon as he has extracted the untouchability material.

4. As regards his other requests please see my marginal note against paragraph 4 of the office note of 20th February. This if approved will dispose of ' A ', ' B ' Class prisoners. As regards ' C ' Class prisoners the request must it seems be refused for the reasons mentioned in paragraph 5 of the office note.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

23rd February

H.M.,

H. E. (P. S. G.)

I agree in paragraph 3 of Secretary's note above.

2. As regards paragraph 4, Mr. Gandhi apparently intends to make a free supply of copies of the *Harijan* and this is how I interpret also the letter, dated 14th February from the Honorary Secretary of the Servants of Untouchables Society, in the linked file. This should not be permitted. The subject is not uncontroversial and if we allowed Mr. Gandhi and his followers to supply free literature on the untouchability question we cannot refuse a similar privilege to Sanatanists who hold different view with equal strength of feeling. Government cannot allow their prisons to be used as areas for propaganda.

3. The most Government could do would be to inform, ' B ' Class prisoners that they are prepared to consider requests for permission to purchase approved periodical or other literature relating to untouchability. This however is unnecessary since they receive sufficient information regarding the anti-untouchability movement from the newspapers now supplied to them.

There is no difficulty about ' A ' Class prisoners. They have greater privileges . and they number only three. Miss Slade is already receiving *Harijan*.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL
23rd February

H. E. (P. S. G.).

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES
26th February 1933

[H. D (Spl. Br.). File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 113]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
24th February 1933

My Dear Charlie,

I have your letters. You know what is happening to the Bills. It is unfortunate and it is bad. The Government have taken up, in my opinion, not an attitude of neutrality but one of partiality. I do not know if you have caught the central point of my argument. It would be partiality to the reformers and would also be interference with religion if the Government gave facilities for the consideration of a measure compelling temple entry. It is partiality to orthodoxy in that the Government will not remove the legal bar to temple entry created by decisions of courts of law, decisions not based on statutory law but on religious usage, thus making untouchability a crime as if it was part of the Penal Code. The Government to be neutral should lift this bar and say to either party, ' We cannot take side in religious matters. Untouchability may be for some of you a breach of your religion, but there is no breach in it of common law and therefore there can be no punishment under the common law.' There are innumerable religious practices, in Hinduism, not even offensive to the moral sense of the word, as

untouchability undoubtedly is, and yet their breach is not penal under the common law. All that the reformers want is opportunity for progress, opportunity for converting public opinion, and when and where it is converted, opportunity for giving effect to that conversion. Today even if cent per cent of Hindus entitled to worship in a particular temple desired the admission of Harijans to that temple, they could not carry out their wish because of the decisions I have referred to. The two Bills are designed to remove this anomaly. I watch, wait and pray.

Love.

(Sd.) MOHAN

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 135]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. N.O.S.D.-862

Bombay Castle, 28th February 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, CLE., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your endorsement No. 137, dated the 16th February 1933, with which was forwarded for the orders of Government a copy of a letter, dated the 15th *idem* from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison requesting, (1) that all the newspapers received for him which do not come under the heading of ' Prohibited literature ' may be delivered to him as they arrive, and (2) that permission may be granted to send copies of the *Harijan* weekly to his associates and fellow prisoners whether belonging to ' B' or ' C' class.

2.Mr. Gandhi's first requests should be allowed on the condition which he offers, viz., that he should return the papers to the Superintendent of the Prison as soon as he has extracted the untouchability material from them.

3.As regards Mr. Gandhi's second request, I am to say that the subject of the removal of untouchability is not an uncontroversial one and if Mr. Gandhi and his reformist followers are permitted to supply prisoners with free literature on the untouchability question, a similar privilege cannot be refused to the Sanatanists who hold different views with equal strength of feeling. Government cannot allow their prisons to be used as arenas for

propaganda and in the circumstances they are unable to accede to his request.

I have the honour to be.
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. M. M.
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department,
28th February.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 149]

CONFIDENTIAL

Confl. No. 194 of 1933
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 4th March 1933

From
The Superintendent,
Yeravada Central Prison ;

To
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter from Slate prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to me.

Personally I am strongly against allowing anybody, inside the jail after locking-up hour, and in my opinion this request of Mr. Gandhi is most unreasonable.

Mr. Gandhi is carrying on his propaganda about removal of untouchability from inside the jail. There is a constant stream of interviewers daily for him, besides his extensive correspondence has to be censored. All this means heavy additional work for the staff.

If permission is granted to allow visitors at night, it will mean extra work and trouble for the jail staff.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p.- 151]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

4th March 1933

Dear Major Bhandari,

As you know I have been endeavouring during my present incarceration to study the heavens. You have kindly allowed astronomical literature to come in to me. I need a fair sized astronomical telescope. Lady Vithaldas has one and has kindly consented to give me a loan of it. Drs. Ramnathan and Desai of the Government Observatory (Poona) who put the telescope right say that I should not be able to use it unless they give personal directions. They need to be with me for that purpose for about half-an-hour after the stars are observable. If there is any objection to this lesson being given to me in the yard in which I am kept during the night, it may be given in the yard reserved for untouchability interviews.

I shall thank you if you will please ascertain the wishes of the Government in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Mr. Gandhi may perhaps be informed that Government regret that they are unable to relax the rule by which no visitors are allowed inside the jail after lock-up, as this would disturb the jail routine and prevent the staff from going off duty.

It will be noticed that Mr. Gandhi only speaks of one lesson, but experience shows that with him one concession invariably leads to a demand for more.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

7th March

(Sd.) H. D. B.

8th March

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 147]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 178 of 1933

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Poona, 6th March 1933

From

Lt.-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency ;

To
The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.
Sir,

I have the honour to forward for orders of Government letter No. 194, dated 4th March 1933, from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison and a letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi to Major Bhandari.

I agree with the opinion expressed by the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison and consider that the time has arrived for a halt to be called to the innumerable concessions granted to Mr. Gandhi.

The position is becoming impossible from the point of view of jail administration.

If this or similar concessions are to be granted I shall be forced to ask for extra staff for Yeravda Central Prison.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 163]

NEW ERA SCHOOL
Gowalia Tank
Bombay-7, 7th March 1933

To
The Home Member,
The Government of Bombay, Bombay.

Sir,

I beg to remind you that I wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi on 19th February 1933 protesting against the continuance of the civil disobedience movement. I do not know whether the letter has been delivered to Gandhiji at all. I have not received any reply as yet. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether the letter has been given to him or not.

After reading Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' statement I am considering the advisability of my issuing a public statement regarding my views on the civil disobedience movement.

I am at present on parole suffering from spinal paralysis and absolutely confined to bed and hence precluded from making any statement. I hereby seek your permission for making a public statement as well as for publishing

my letter to Gandhiji. I hope you will kindly grant the necessary permission.

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting an early reply.

I beg to remain
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) ROHIT MEHTA

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 165]

The reply to Mr. Rohit Mehta issued on the 8th and has crossed his present letter.

2. He is on parole for two months since January 18th last but has applied for extension of parole by three months on medical grounds. The papers underlying his application were submitted by H. D. to Secretary yesterday. The condition on which he has been released on parole is that he will not take part in c. d. o. during the period of suspension of his sentence. It may be observed that his letter to Mr. Gandhi is drafted almost wholly on the lines of the letter of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, but apparently he is hesitating to tender an apology and ask for release. While he continues to remain a convict, Government would not apparently allow him to make any public statement or to publish his letter to Mr. Gandhi and his request in this respect may perhaps be refused.

For orders.

Secretary :

I presume his request for extension of parole has already been dealt with and that he has been informed of the result. Please verify from H. D. before issuing the reply. He may be referred to the previous letter informing him of the non-delivery of his letter to Mr. Gandhi and he may be informed that so long as he is on parole he is not at liberty to publish any statement or letter.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
15th March

A reply has been sent to him already sanctioning the extension of parole by three months.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 139]

CONFIDENTIAL

Confl. No. 199 of 1933
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 7th March 1933

From

The Superintendent,
Central Prison, Yeravda ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to Home Department Confidential No. S.D. 862, dated 28th February 1933, addressed to you and a copy of which was received in this office under your endorsement No. Confidential 173, dated 3rd March 1933, I have the honour to state that I acquainted Mr. Gandhi with the decision of Government. I told him that all the newspapers will be delivered to him in the yard where he comes every morning, to have his letters typed and to interview visitors and that in the evening, before going to the ' B ' Yard, where he is housed at night, he should return these papers. Mr. Gandhi says that he and his Secretary Mahadev Desai will not be able to look through all the newspapers there and that he would like to take them to his yard where he would be assisted in this work by Vallabhbhai Patel and Chhaganlal Joshi.

I told him I do not want the newspapers to go in the ' B ' Yard from there ; inspite of ail his care and precautions, some are likely to find their way to other parts of the jail, which is inadvisable.

He suggested that if that is not possible, Chhaganlal Joshi may be allowed to come to the special yard with him to help him to read the newspapers.

In my opinion, the second proposal is the lesser evil. As soon as it is known that all newspapers are allowed to reach Mr. Gandhi, there will be no end to the number that will be received. This was my experience at the time when all restrictions regarding interviews, etc., were removed. I would not like to send all kinds of newspapers inside a yard where there are other prisoners besides Mr. Gandhi.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.
Yeravda Central Prison

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 121]

Open letter to Mahatma Gandhiji

Dear Mahatmaji,

Though of course you may be called to be a prisoner in jail, you must be following the events of the outside world.

So far as civil disobedience movement is concerned may I not be permitted to ask whether this is not high time, to call off the same ? Dear Mahatmaji, the movement is unique in itself and you will admit that it must be guided by unique brains and in an unique way. You will frankly admit that at

present it is not so. You and your followers are liable to the same charges of false notions of prestige of which we are fond of accusing the executive. If the movement has been started with

must be equally candid and noble. Candid admission of defeat is not unwarlike and under the present circumstances it is only prudent and wise to call off the movement. I as one humble member of the Congress appeal to you with the humility that using discretion as best part of valour you will approach the Government with a proposal to consult your other colleagues with a view to call of the present civil disobedience movement.

Yours respectfully,

(Sd.) VASANJI MULJI

Simla House
Mathew Road
Bombay-4
4th March 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 127]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

8th March 1933.

Dear friend.

This is my message for the Gaekwar Birthday Commemoration Volume :

'There can be no doubt that His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Gaekwar of Baroda deserves the warmest congratulations of us all for his treatment of Harijans and his withdrawing all State recognition of untouchability.'

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Sjt. Y. R. Date
C/o Sjt. Haribhau Phatak

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 184 of 1933

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Poona, 8th March 1933

Forwarded with compliments to the Secretary, H. D. (Special) for favour of orders : I suggest that Chhaganlal Joshi be allowed to assist Mr. Gandhi as requested by him.

(Sd.) E. E. D., Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 365]

BEATRICE NEB
March 12, 1933

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have often thought of you and wondered what the real situation is in India today.

Some newspapers print Indian news that cannot be verified and some exaggerate a good deal.

I have just finished that large volume by Kathrine Mayo called *Mother India*.

It is remarkable that a woman should write a work of this kind and never mention of anything good in India.

The book is caustic, often unjust condemnation in all of its 423 pages.

Never a mention of anything but poverty and sexual intercourse of the abused masses.

Please Mr. Gandhi will you write me and advise me if Miss Mayo sticks to the truth in this deplorable book or is she only after publicity and money.

This is a man's problem anyway and I feel sure that in all that vast indictment of your great and wonderful country she has not offered one helpful suggestion or one inkling of what proper course to take towards solution.

She has criticized the British Government and you and the Viceroy and caste system but she knows that such procedure will only inflame the mind without helping anyone except her own finances.

I admire your course much more than the tactless and sordid questionable methods of Kathrine Mayo.

I am told that her book has been suppressed in India and well it should be.

Is it true that Miss Mayo has ever offered or worked to honestly help the people of India or correct the unofficial statements she has made concerning your people.

I can see how you can love the people of India and work for them and even die if need be for them.

No man can make a greater effort than you have in a greater cause.

I wish you success and health and happiness and pray that your life will be spared.

I should enjoy hearing from you.

Very respectfully yours,
(Sd.) HARRY BOWMAN

[H. D. (Spt. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part 11, p. 143]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 1114
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 14th March 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 184, dated the 8th March 1933, I am directed to inform you that Government have no objection to prisoner Chhaganlal Joshi being allowed to accompany Mr. Gandhi to the special yard to help the latter in extracting from newspapers material bearing on untouchability.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. M. M.
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.
13th March.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 185]

To

M. K. Gandhi. Esquire,
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Respected Sir,

You are an educated, wise and experienced patriot and politician, a leader and statesman, as such your staying in the jail willingly and unnecessarily is a heavy loss to the country and the people, so I humbly pray that you will kindly give up civil disobedience movement and come out of the jail and devote your precious time in Khaddar and Swadeshi movement, in removing untouchability. in establishing unity between Hindus and Muslims and in other constructive work beneficial to the country and the people. I beg to submit here that the civil disobedience movement instead of doing any good, has done immense losses and mischiefs to the country and the people, so

yourself released from imprisonment.

Praying for your health and long life.

With best regards,

Yours truly,

(Sd.) KHANDKAR MD. ZAKARIA,
Post and Village Salar,
District Murshidabad.

Dated Salar, the 14th March 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 159]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
14th March 1933

Dear Sir,

With reference to my application for permission to Drs. Ramnathan and Desai of the Meteorological Department to come to the Yeravda Central Prison in the evening just after dark to show me the use of an astronomical . telescope, the Superintendent has just informed me that the Government cannot see their way to grant the permission for reasons stated in the order. I cannot help saying that I was wholly unprepared for this decision. I have known both Yeravda Central Prison and Ahmedabad Central Prison to be opened at night. My application was for the admission, not of strangers, but of Government officials, on a day convenient to the authorities only for half-an-hour for innocent instruction. As I would not like to think that the Government would reject such a simple request, I renew my application. But should the Government refuse to reconsider, would they allow the above-mention officials to give me such instructions as may be possible just before the prison gates are closed ?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.K. GANDHI

The Secretary,
Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 183]

From

Mr. P. R. Thakur, Bar-at-Law,
Vice-President, All-Bengal Depressed Classes Federation,
P-127/1, Russa Road, Calcutta.

Dear Mahatmaji,

On Tuesday the 14th of March 1933, the Bengal Legislative Council accepted, by 36 against: 27 votes a special motion urging the Prime Minister

to revise and withdraw his acceptance of the Poona Pact so far as Bengal was concerned. And it is understood that the Act will be modified against the will of Depressed Classes of Bengal. If it be so, what will you be doing, Mahatmaji ? We believed in you and we were satisfied with what we got from you. Now the Caste Hindus of Bengal do not care to abide by your decision. They do not want you in Bengal. You should fast again and die for us if necessary. Your blood will wash away the sins of the Caste Hindus. What will you do with India's Freedom if we untouchables are to live in India as cats and dogs ? The Bengal Depressed Classes have still faith in you and they are anxiously waiting to know your views.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) P. R. THAKUR
15th March 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 297-307]

Woodbrook, Selly Oak,
Birmingham
16th March 1933

My Dearest Mohan,

I am getting this long letter typed. My mind has been concerned with the difficulties of Indians abroad during these long years, when the Indian constitution itself is taking up entirely public attention. It seems to me that they ought not to be neglected ; and as I have had primary duty concerning them, naturally I cannot let them go into the background of my own mind. Yet I feel often that they are literally passing out of sight.

My plans seem to shape themselves as follows :

(1) I have got all the material ready for an important report on British Guiana, which is entirely negative regarding any fresh emigration, but urgently positive regarding certain things that ought to be done if the very large Indian community in the West Indies is not to sink into the background and merely become absorbed in the general population, as has already happened in Grenada, Barbadoes and Jamaica. There are nearly half the population both in Trinidad and British Guiana of pure East Indian extraction, and if their social and religious problems are dealt with immediately in a statesmanlike manner, they will be able to preserve their individuality. But without a very strong move from India itself and sympathy and support, they cannot help but become merely a part of the Negro population, learning more and more American negro habits. I love the American Negroes, as you know, but I think it is bad for them and for the East Indians to lose their own individuality.

I was very interested by Mr. Kewal's appeal to the poet, Tagore, to send out some Indian Women teachers to British Guiana. The condition of things is this that practically the whole population of British Guiana is now being taught by American Negro teachers, with a very small sprinkling of East Indian teachers and hardly a single East Indian woman teacher. That is why Mr. Kewal's appeal was so strong. There is also the sad habit of marrying the girls at a very early age, and though my visit in 1929 did much to promote better marriage condition and to raise the age of consent, yet things will slip back again unless something is done effectively.

In Trinidad, owing to the Canadian Presbyterian mission, the number of East Indian teachers teaching Indian children is far better in proportion to the American Negro teachers, but here there is the real danger of what I may call Canadian religious Americanisation, and my visit there in 1929 did much to help the Canadians themselves to see the harm that they were doing by this proselytizing method. I was able to do more to convince the missionaries that they were wrong in this than anyone else had been able to do beforehand, and I certainly could do a great deal more if I was able to go out again, even for a short time. My plan, therefore, was to employ the summer months from July 15th to October in going out there revising my report, working out further social and educational reforms, and then coming back and spending some short time in London before going on further.

The second issue I have already told you about. Maharaj Singh asked me in a very earnest manner to come out to help him at some time during his stay in South Africa, and it seemed to me that it would be an exceptionally favourable time to go out next November or December, when the whole situation in South Africa will be vitally changed by the new coalition Government. I do not know if you realise that I have a real personal affection for General Hertzog and General Smuts, which has been the result of many visits to South Africa and friendly relations kept up during those visits.

Patrick Duncan also has been a true friend all through and Mrs. Duncan has been very friendly also. In addition to these I have, through religious channels, become very closely attached to leading Dutch Reformed Churchmen, such as Dr. Moering of Capetown, the editor of 'Die Kerk Bode' and others also, such as Dr. du Plessis, at Stellenbosch, who is now reinstated in his chair at the University after a long series of heresy trials. These relationships are very delicate and very tender and they have brought me right into the circle of the Dutch religious world in a way that has been quite beyond my expectation. For instance 'Die Kerk Bode' will translate and publish my articles from time to time, which are read in every Dutch household, and my book 'What I owe to Christ' has been translated into Dutch and will have a wide circulation in South Africa both in the English and Dutch languages. I get letters about this frequently. I have mentioned all this because it was quite a surprise to me last time I was there to find what affection had grown up between these good Dutch predicates and myself.

Dr. & Mrs. Moering actually changed their boat in order to travel with me to Southampton.

I wrote to Natarajan in order to sound him about any possibilities for steamer passage from the I. I. C. A. if I undertake these journeys, but the reply has been blank negative. This I do not worry about at all, for I have now certain funds through my latest book which can be diverted if necessary and if the call demands it. Therefore the financial question need not stand in the way for one minute. In fact I do not even think about it.

But on the other hand I am very seriously concerned to know whether I should leave England next cold weather. I do not think a rapid voyage of 14 days to British Guiana and 14 days back in the vacation time would at all seriously affect my work in this country, though I do feel more than I can possibly tell you that I must make *Harijan* thoroughly well-known and the whole cause of the untouchables rightly understood, in religious circles in this country. Here again the two months of July and August are not very important and it is a very big thing to get away from a subject for a short time and come back fresh to it. We work at such a pace, as you know, in these cold climates that unless we do get a thorough change we get stale, and with me a thorough change is not to go on a holiday but to take up some new subject for a time and then to come back to the old subject afterwards. But as I have said, the question of many months absence during the full parliamentary session here in England makes me anxious.

I have dictated this at very great length because I want your practical mind to work upon the subject. And as I have really and truly devoted myself now to the untouchability problem, as such, whether in the East or in the West, I feel that I ought to seek your guidance in the matter even on such points as these, when my mind is still in doubt about any matter.

The time that I should spend in South Africa (if I went there at all) would be of course much longer than the time I should spend in British Guiana ; and while I look upon the former question as one that is not so seriously important, the other question, namely an absence of several months duration in South Africa, is a very big question indeed. Let me explain, that if I went to South Africa, I would, this time, do my utmost to further in the very best ways possible the growth of the great Indian community in Natal, entering into their new social, educational and religious problems as they are now confronting them with a fairly settled prospect before them. For I think we may be fairly certain that in Natal at least the Indian population need no longer go on with a perpetual fear hanging over it of repatriation and the like. It has now become so thoroughly settled that no South African Government is likely to disturb it fundamentally. Hitherto I have dealt with what might be called the hand-mouth existence of Indians in South Africa, but now the problem of ultimate settlement is the most vital one of all. Did you hear, for instance, that the South African Government, in spite of the anti-Asiatic clamour, has decided not to send any more ships to India with repatriates under the bonus

clause, at least for six months, because it wishes to save money in these bad economic times ! The real meaning of this, of course, is that the European population is now so much larger than the Indian population that the fear, which Mr. Gokhale so wisely said, 20 years ago, had to be removed before anything could be done, has now practically been removed, and we have for the first time a European population which has settled down to the fact that Indians are South Africans in Natal just as much as they themselves are South Africans.

Don't you think, that if I could be spared for a really thorough investigation of these immensely important Natal problems and could discuss them thoroughly, not only with Maharaj Singh, but also with the great leading statesmen, both Dutch and English, it might make a great deal of difference in the future to the whole Indian problem in that country ? After all this is now the seed time in South Africa of a great future, and though the Indian population is comparatively small compared with the vast population of India itself, yet here is a seed of the future which may itself bear fruit a hundredfold ; and as I have been given in God's providence since December 1913, when I met you for the first time in Durban, this work to do, is it not right for me, having put my hand to the plough, to refuse to turn back for any other cause ? It also brings me in South Africa quite directly into the very centre of the untouchability problem of the West, which I should be attacking at the same time as I am trying to help the Indian cause. I shall of course consult Henry when he gets back, but if you could give me your considered opinion soon after you get this letter, it would be about the same time that I should be talking over the matter with him.

With dearest love,
(Sd.) CHARLIE

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 163]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 1176
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 17th March 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your endorsement No. 212, dated the 14th March 1933, regarding Mr. Gandhi's request for the grant

of permission to Doctors Ramanathan and Desai of the Meteorological Department to give him instructions in the use of an astronomical telescope for about half-an-hour, I am directed to enquire whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi is now willing to have the instructions just before the prison gates are closed, it would cause any administrative difficulty if the two Doctors were allowed in for half-an-hour before lock-up, and, if not, what time should be specified.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) C. F. BORGES,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 164]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 228 of 1933
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 18th March 1933

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of report.
This has a reference to his confidential letter No. 211, dated 14th March 1933.
Please return.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col, I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

Confl. No. 225 of 1933
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 20th March 1933

Returned with compliments.

There would be no administrative difficulty if the doctors are allowed to give instructions to Mr. Gandhi as long as they leave the Jail premises by 6-15 p.m.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 243 of 1933
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 20th March 1933

Forwarded with compliments to the Secretary, H. D. (Special)— I agree with the opinion expressed by Major Bhandari.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 187]

Letter No. 1. (P. R. Thakar) :

There seems no reason to withhold this. Mr. Gandhi has frequently discussed the question of fasting with visitors and press correspondents, and is allowed to publish anything he likes on the subject. Letter No. 2 :

This is unobjectionable, but according to the view taken on Mr. Jamnadas' letter it should presumably be withheld.

(Sd.) R. R.M.
22nd March

H.M.,

I think that No. 1 should be withheld also. It invites Mr. Gandhi to fast. Prisoners should not get letters encouraging them to disturb jail discipline.

(Sd.) R.D.B.
23rd March

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 189]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 1271
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 23rd March 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell. Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

Returning herewith the letters addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Mr. P. R. Thakur of Calcutta and Mr. Khandkar, Md. Zakaria of Salar, District Murshi-

dabad which were received with your endorsement No. 247, dated the 21st March 1933, I am directed to inform you that both the letters should be withheld.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) C. F.B.,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department,
23rd March

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 167]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 1270
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 23rd March 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your endorsement No. 243, dated the 20th March 1933, I am directed to request that Mr. Gandhi may be informed that Government have no objection to Doctors Ramnathan and Desai of Meteorological Department giving him instructions in the use of an astronomical telescope for about half-an-hour on any week day before 6-15 p.m., but that, for the reasons given in Government letter No. S.D. 1027, dated the 9th March 1933, they cannot be allowed to remain inside the jail premises after that hour.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) C. F. BORGES,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 239]

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
EXPRESS LETTER

No. D. 2038/33-Poll.
New Delhi,

Dated the 23rd March 1933

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Bombay Special, Bombay

From paragraph 7 of Maxwell's letter No. S.D. 775, dated 23rd of February 1933, it appears that Jamnadas Dwarkadas' letter to Mr. Gandhi asking him to call off the civil disobedience movement was withheld under the orders of the Local Government on the principle that Mr. Gandhi cannot be allowed to receive letters regarding politics or the civil disobedience movement, to which under the restrictions imposed on his correspondence he would not be allowed to reply on equal terms. It appears probable that other letters written with the same object may also have been withheld.

2. I am to say that correspondence addressed to Mr. Gandhi on subjects other than untouchability is presumably regulated by the original orders contained in your letter No. S.B. 310, dated the 16th of January 1932. They provided that all correspondence to and from the prisoners should be censored by the Superintendent of the Prison and that all objectionable correspondence should be withheld. In doubtful cases a reference should be made to the Government of Bombay.

Under these orders it would seem that correspondence aimed at asking Mr. Gandhi to abandon civil disobedience would not have been withheld, and it was in fact specifically stated by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on November 7, 1932, with the approval of the Government of India, that 'any letters aiming at influencing him in the direction of abandoning civil disobedience would reach him'.

3. In view of these considerations, the Government of India consider that if the Government of Bombay see no objection, letters such as those of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas should be duly delivered to Mr. Gandhi.

4. The Government of India recognise that it is not possible to allow Mr. Gandhi to issue replies to these letters without the prior approval of the Government of Bombay or the Government of India. As, however, he has strictly observed the terms on which the rules regulating his correspondence

and interviews have been relaxed, they do not anticipate that he will raise any objection to this procedure. If the replies are merely acknowledgments, they may be passed on without reference to the Government of India, who would, however, be glad to be informed of any such replies that he may send. If, however, any more detailed reply is given, the Government of India would be glad if it could be referred to them promptly with the views of the Government of Bombay.

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT
Secretary to the Government of India

Copies sent to H. M. and H. E. (P. S. G.) on 25th March 1933.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (5), Part IV, p. 457*]

Telephone Rector 2 : 5515

UNIVERSAL PUBLISHING COMPANY
20, Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.
March 23rd 1933.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi,
Yeravda Prison, Poona, India.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of our last publication *Gandhi* versus *The Empire*. The book is written by our young friend and disciple Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar. The unique position Dr. Muzumdar enjoys in this country as an authoritative exponent of the Indian struggle for freedom and as a scholarly interpreter of your life and teachings, induced us to handle this book by him. The major part of the book consists of your ten speeches at the Round Table Conference and a few pertinent editorials and utterances of yours dealing with the history of your civil disobedience campaign. Dr. Muzumdar's explanatory chapters and introductory paragraphs are most illuminating, to our way of thinking, especially Chapters VIII and XIV. Chapter VIII deals with 'A Message to the Women of India,' and Dr. Muzumdar, following in your footsteps, has thoroughly quashed Miss Mayo's thesis by a scholarly handling of statistics of the married in India. Chapter XIV deals with your visit to England.

This publication of ours has received more favourable notices and reviews in the American press than any other publication of a similar nature by any other publishing house that we can think of. A few excerpts from press notices are being sent under separate cover. We should be happy to get your comments upon the books.

Cordially Yours,
(Sd.) HARRY A. SLATER
Publicity Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 261]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
27th March 1933.

Dear Major Bhandari,

With reference to Seth Jamnalalji's transfer to Arthur Road Prison for medical examination, will you please ascertain from the Government whether I may correspond with him freely and receive letters from him freely in view of the daily interviews I was permitted to have whilst he was here, of course subject to the limitation of the correspondence strictly to his health and untouchability matters ?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 243-45]

Submitted with reference to Secretary's note in the margin on page 3 *ante*.

2. Please see the correspondence at page 73-199 of File 800 (40) (3), Part IV, regarding the detention of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' letter which is at page 87-101 of the file.

3. We were not informed before this that the Secretary of State had made a statement in the House of Commons on 7th November 1932, with the approval of the Government of India, that 'any letter aiming at influencing Mr. Gandhi in the direction of abandoning civil disobedience would reach him'. We ordinarily receive from the India Office direct, or through the Government of India, copies of questions and answers in Parliament on matters concerning us, but it does not appear that the question and answer relating to the above statement was sent to us by either the India Office or the Government of India.

4. As regards the observation of the Government of India that it appears probable that other letters written with the same objection may also have been withheld, it is pointed out that other letters of the kind withheld are—

(1) Letter dated 4th March 1933 from Mr. Vasanji Mulji of Bombay— copy at page 143 of File 800 (40) (3), Part IV.

(2) Letter dated 19th February 1923 from Mr. Rohit Mehta (At present in Bombay) at pp. 163-75 of the same file (translation at pp. 177-86 of the file).

(3) Letter dated 14th March 1933 from Mr. Khandkar, Md. Zakaria of Salar, District Murshidabad—copy at page 213 of the same file.

One letter however of a similar kind from Mr. M. A. Khan of Ferozepur Cantonment dated 1st July 1932, which had been received before the question of delivering such letters to Mr. Gandhi had been more carefully considered

in connection with the letter from Mr. Dwarkadas, was allowed to be delivered *vide* correspondence at pp. 15-25 of File 800 (4) (3), Part II.

H. M.

H. E. (P. S. G.).

It is significant that this point has been raised on the 23rd March on our letter dated 23rd February, (of which a copy was sent to the India Office by air mail). Evidently this letter comes at the instance of the Secretary of State.

There seems to be no objection, so far as this Government is concerned, to dealing; with future letters of the same sort on the lines desired by the Government of India. We may perhaps inform them that this will be done and at the same time point out that no copy of the statement made by the Secretary of State on 7th November was supplied to us.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
27th March

H. M.

This decision may lead to further developments.

(Sd.) R. D. B.

H. E.

I agree. Please let me see draft before issue.

(Sd.) F. H. S.
28th March 1933

A draft is submitted for consideration.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
29th March 1933

H. M.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
29th March 1933

H. E. (P. S. G.)

(Sd.) F. H. S.
29th March 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 201]

To

Rt. Hon. Lansbury,
Bow London.
My condolences.

GANDHI

Note.—A telegram dated 25th March 1933 sent by Mahatma Gandhi to Rt. Hon. Lansbury on account of the death of Mrs. Lansbury.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 209]

BIRLA HOUSE
Albuquerque Road, New Delhi.
28th March 1933

My Dear Bapu,

There are one or two points on which I want your advice.

When at Benares, I heard that a number of ' Domes' who changed their religion some time back, now on account of the present movement want to come again to the fold of Hinduism. The local Arya Samajists wanted financial help from the Society in order that they could be reclaimed. I personally saw no objection in it and so I have promised to help them from my personal pocket. The question is : should not the Society interest itself in such a matter ? If no, why not ? When refused to take interest in such matters, people legitimately criticise that at the expense of Hinduism we are too eager to placate others. I think, there is much in that charge. I am not in favour of performing ' Sudhi' for the sake of ' Sudhi' by inducing Mussalmans or Christians to change their religions, but if a Hindu who has changed his religion wants to come back to the fold of Hinduism, I see no reason why we should not encourage him.

I wrote a letter to Benthall asking him to give us paper free of charge for the Hindi *Harijan*. Probably you know that Benthall is the Managing Agent of the Titagarh Paper Mills. Benthall said that he could consider the question of advertising in the *Harijan*, but cannot present to us paper as a gift. I said, we would mention in the issue of the *Harijan* that we had received paper *gratis* from the Titagarh Paper Mills and that this in itself would be an advertisement. But he said, this will not serve his purpose. I told him that as we did not take advertisement it was not possible for us to advertise the Titagarh Paper Mills. The matter is now before the Board of Directors. Do you think, it is possible for us to accommodate the Titagarh Paper Mills.

I wonder, what do you think now of the Hindi *Harijan*. I personally think, on the whole the publication is quite satisfactory. Financially it will take some time before it could be independent. But I think, it is making steady progress and in three or four months time it would become absolutely self-supporting.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) GHANSHYAM

Mahatma M. K. Gandhiji
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 247]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 1996

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 30th March 1933

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Sir,

I am to refer to your Express Letter No. D. 2038/33-Poll., dated the 23rd March 1933, on the subject of allowing Mr. Gandhi in future to receive letters on lines similar to that of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas which was withheld by this Government. I am to say that the Government of Bombay were not apparently informed of the statement made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, with the approval of the Government of India, on the 7th November 1932, and that had they been aware of that statement the letter in question would certainly have been referred to the Government of India before the decision to withhold it was arrived at. Only one other important letter of a similar character has been withheld, viz. that of Mr. Rohit Mehta. which was mentioned in paragraph 3 of my weekly letter No. S.D. 1124, dated the 15th March 1933, but it is unlikely that Mr. Rohit Mehta's views would have had any appreciable effect on Mr. Gandhi.

2. The Government of Bombay will, of course, carry out the wishes of the Government of India in this matter, now that they are aware of them. In applying, however, to Mr. Gandhi's correspondence the criterion mentioned in para. 2 of your letter they have in the past ordinarily regarded as 'objectionable' any communication dealing with subjects the discussion of which was not in accord with the circumstances of Mr. Gandhi's confinement as a State prisoner. If, in future, the principle to be followed is that communications to or from Mr. Gandhi, even on forbidden subjects, are to be allowed if their contents do not appear to be objectionable in themselves, Government will be in the very difficult position of having to decide how far they agree with each such communication before it is passed for delivery and the decision arrived at will be equivalent to an expression of the views of Government on the contents.

3. The recent instance of the prisoner Poonamchand illustrates some of the difficulties which are likely to arise. In this case Mr. Gandhi's communication was in itself unexceptionable, but as explained by Mr. Gandhi himself, it definitely connoted a claim to be allowed to intervene whenever a political

prisoner comes into conflict with jail discipline. If Mr. Gandhi's telegram is allowed, then it becomes illogical to withhold from him letters or telegrams asking for his intervention in such cases, or to refuse to forward or satisfy his requests for information. If on the other hand the principle is adopted that all communications regarding matters of jail discipline are forbidden, it follows that even a telegram advising another prisoner not to fast must be withheld even although it is, in itself, unobjectionable.

4. The Government of Bombay moreover anticipate that if letters discussing the general policy of the Congress are allowed to reach Mr. Gandhi they must in the ordinary course give rise to demands for interviews on the same subject which, having allowed the original communications, Government will not find it easy to refuse. They observe from the replies given to questions in the Legislative Assembly that it is not the policy of the Government of India to allow interviews of this sort, and they find some difficulty in reconciling the attitude of the Government of India on this matter with the course of action which this Government is asked to pursue in dealing with correspondence on political subjects addressed to Mr. Gandhi and his replies thereto. They have no doubt that in regard to interviews the Government of India have taken into account the probability that the present leaders of the Congress will seek some way of extricating the Congress from its present position without the intervention of Mr. Gandhi, but they feel sure that this probability would very much be weakened if it became known that Mr. Gandhi was open to discussion on this subject.

5. The Government of Bombay fully appreciate that the Government of India have no intention of enlarging Mr. Gandhi's liberties by means of the present instructions. Since however Mr. Gandhi has always been quick to seize upon and exploit to the full any advantage of position which his dealings with Government have allowed they have taken this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Government of India some of the considerations which seem likely to arise in departing from the practice hitherto observed in regard to Mr. Gandhi's correspondence.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. M.

29th March,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Copy sent to H. E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 485]

NEW YORK OFFICE
315, Fourth Avenue, Room 1801
Phone : Gramercy 5-5054
New York City, March 31, 1933

CHICAGO OFFICE
185, N. Wabash Ave, Room 1024
Phone : Franklin 3885

Mahatma Gandhi,
Yeravda Jail, Poona, India.

Dear Mahatmaji,

'Non-Violence—a Key to World Peace ' is one of the vital topics for discussion by our world Fellowship of Faiths. You are the only man in the world who can adequately lead us in this field.

'How May Man Master Fear ? ' How can individuals develop Soul Force with which to meet their needs and opportunities ? Such are the problems of all people everywhere—on which we need the light of your vision and experience.

'How Overcome Racial and Religious Prejudice and Persecution ? ' Your steady struggle for fraternal relations between India's castes and creeds give you the understanding and experience which the world needs to have you express through the World Fellowship of Faiths.

' How Expand Patriotism into World Consciousness ? ' ' How Realize World Unity ' ? These topics suggest the world setting and relationship which unavoidably condition India's free, full self-development. You are supremely needed to interpret, on an all-world platform, India's need of and contributions to a united, free, fraternal world life.

In all of the topics listed on page 3 of this letter you will recognize, we hope, our supreme need of your presence and inspiration in the World Fellowship of Faiths—whose purposes, dates, personal and plans are explained on pages 2, 3 and 4 of this letter.

(2)

'A NEW SPIRITUAL DYNAMIC' competent to master and reform the world—that is what the World Fellowship of Faiths hopes to help mankind to develop. In this great undertaking we need *your* inspiration and leadership more than that of any other living person.

Will you, please, express your willingness to come ? If you will do that, we believe that the problems presented by your imprisonment and by India's present situation, can probably be solved.

Will you kindly cable your answer, collect, to ' World Fellowship of Faiths, 315, Fourth Avenue, New York City' ?

For the National Committee.

Faithfully Yours,

(Sd.) FRANCIS J. McCONNELL,
(Bishop Francis J. McConnell),
National Chairman.

We are sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretary of His Majesty King George and to the Prime Minister of England and to the Viceroy of India asking them to co-operate by facilitating your reply to and acceptance of our invitation.

Continuing the great traditions of the World Parliament of Religions At Chicago's First World's Fair, 1893.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

A great Parliament of Religion during Chicago's Second World's Fair June to November 1933.

Purpose: 'To unite the Inspiration of All Faiths——upon the Solution of men's Present Problems.'

Organised in England in 1910 as the 'Union of East and West' in the United States in 1920 as the 'League of Neighbours,' and in 1924 united as the ' Fellowship of Faiths'—this World Fellowship idea, for more than twenty years, has demonstrated its power to ' Build Bridges of Understanding across the Chasms of Prejudice.'

At the Chicago Sessions, distinguished representatives of all Faiths will discuss such topics as :

- ' Poverty-Amidst-Plenty—How Cure It ?'
- ' What Can My Faith Say to the Unemployed ?'
- ' The Depression—What Light Can My Faith Shed Upon It ? '
- ' Men And Machines—Which Shall Be Master ? '
- ' Non-Violence—A Key to World Peace.'
- ' Racial And Religious Persecution—How Prevent It ? '
- ' How Expand Patriotism Into World Consciousness ? '
- ' Peace And Brotherhood—As Taught by the World's Faiths.'
- ' How Faiths, in Fellowship—May Same Civilization ? '
- ' How May Man Master Fear ? '
- ' Youth And The Future.'
- ' Disarmament.'
- ' Ideals for a New World Order.'
- ' Prohibition as My Faith Sees It.'

- ' After Death—What ? '
- ' Are Immigrants Valuable ? '
- ' Russia's Soviet Faith.'
- ' How Realize World Unity ? '

Throughout the time of the Chicago World's Fair (June 1 to November 1) occasional presentations of the World Fellowship of Faiths will be organized as appropriate speakers become available during three weeks, August 27 to September 17. the World Fellowship of Faiths will reach its climax in daily session of national and international representatives of the faiths of all the world.

Physically drawn together into one neighbourhood, the world today must either live by the spirit of neighbourliness or perish through hate ; must open mind and heart to the world-wide, fraternal Oneness of life ; to an appreciation of peoples of all races, religions, nationalities, cultures, classes, conditions, and convictions. Eminent representatives of all these, the World-Fellowship of Faiths will bring together at Chicago for common understanding and counsel, afterward sending them out as a band of dispersed, yet united Apostles, to build a better world.

A New Spiritual Dynamic competent to master and reform the world— that is what The World Fellowship of Faiths hopes to help mankind to develop.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 263]

Submitted with reference to Secretary's note on page 1 *ante*—Jamnalal Bajaj has been placed in the ' C' class at his own request and under the rules is only entitled to write and receive a letter once in three months.

2.As regards the transfer of the prisoner from the Dhulia prison to Yeravda, please see the correspondence at pages 509 to 539 of File 800 (40) (2) 1 put up. As stated by the I. G. of Prisons, Jamnalal was transferred to Yeravda purely on medical grounds but the transfer was effected mainly at Mr. Gandhi's request. Government at first directed that Mr. Gandhi should be allowed to see Jamnalal only once, but Mr. Gandhi represented that he might be allowed to have frequent interviews with him both in respect of health and untouchability, and in support of his latter request, he said that Jamnalal ' was the Chairman of the Anti-untouchability Board appointed by the Congress in 1929 and he had specialised on the question of temple entry'. The I. G. was very much against the grant of the concession and it was really in view of Mr. Gandhi's mood then to go on fast on any pretext whatever that he was permitted to have daily interviews.

3.The Government of India orders about the removal of restrictions on visits and correspondence in regard to his untouchability work would seem to apply to visits to and from, and correspondence with, outsiders and not

prisoners. In making his present request Mr. Gandhi really asks for a suspension, in Mr. Jamnalal's case, of the rule permitting ' C ' class prisoners to write and receive a letter once in three months.

For orders.

Secretary :

H.M.

Mr. Gandhi may be informed that as Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj has been treated as a ' C ' class prisoner at his own request, he must remain subject to the rules applicable to that class, which permit him to write and receive a letter once in three months.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

31st March.

H.M.

In view of the opinion of the G. of I. regarding the admissibility of correspondence with Mr. Gandhi which is unobjectionable in itself I think we should not now be quite so rigid in adhering to rules even when this involves a little relaxation of strict jail discipline. A little elasticity seems politic at the moment.

When Mr. Jamnalal was in Yeravda he was allowed to see Mr. Gandhi daily if the latter wished it. This was a relaxation of the rules governing Mr. Gandhi's interviews with other prisoners and also (no doubt) of the rules relating to ' C ' class prisoners. They cannot say so much to one another in correspondence as in conversations. I think therefore that they may be allowed to correspond with one another freely subject to the condition mentioned by Mr. Gandhi that the correspondence is restricted to health and untouchability matters. The privilege allowed as regards conversation will thus be transferred to correspondence.

H. E. agreed to the relaxation in the case of conversations and should see again.

(Sd.) R. D. B.

1st April 1933.

H. E. (P. S. G.)

H. E. agrees to the orders proposed by H. M., but thinks that the Government of India should be informed of the case, and that in doing so we should explain that on the principles indicated in our letter regarding Mr. Jamnadas we should have been inclined to take a stricter view of the rules but have agreed to relax them only in order to act in conformity with the wishes of the Government of India. (A).

(Sd.) R. M. M.

4th April.

H. M.

A is a trifle blunt.

We are allowing this relaxation because we granted to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jamnadas special privileges for seeing one another when they were both at Yeravda. In view of this the latitude regarding 'unobjectionable' correspondence which the G. of I. desire to allow Mr. Gandhi we have thought it advisable not to give Mr. Gandhi the opportunity of pressing this request further.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
5th April 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (5), Part IV, p. 281]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
7th April 1933

My dear Charlie,

I have your letters and enclosures, also copy of an article of yours in an old number of the Modern Review.

I understand and even appreciate the moral repulsion against 'fasting unto death'. I have perhaps some repulsion, if not the same repulsion, against fasting unto death myself, but I remain unmoved. There are many other things I have done and am still doing against my will, because I count my will as nothing before God's will when I see it clearly before me. I will make myself as certain as it is humanly possible to be that the will that appears to me to be God's is really His, and not the Devil's. But when I am clear about it, I rejoice in obeying that will, rather than mine, although I may have no human companion to endorse it. That this kind of fasting has a definite place in Hinduism, and properly so, I have not a shadow of a doubt, but it is a privilege that comes only to a few, and when it comes in obedience to a call from above, it has a mighty force, only fasting unto death is a corrupt expression. Where I used it first, it had its definite meaning. Now it is being used torn from its context and looks certainly barbarous. But it is there, and its real meaning is unmistakable and you can almost say that it is not so much a 'fasting unto death' as it is a 'fasting into a new life'.

All the same, I value your letter and the information you give me about the English attitude. I do want English sympathy in this big struggle. I do want also to be understood. You cannot therefore be too frank or too communicative with me. I shall never misunderstand whatever these few English friends might have to say.

Kirby Page's article which you have sent I shall see as soon as I get the time, and if there is anything worth saying, I shall reduce it to writing.

I hope that your brother's septic teeth were extracted and that he had benefited by the extraction.

You know all about Verrier's change of mind. He had changed it before your blessings were received, and you know the reason also for the change. Whilst I was prepared to bless the marriage, I cannot help saying that I blessed the change still more. So much depended upon Verrier's decision. I told him that if it was a human want on his part, he must marry, no matter what mis-interpretation might be put upon his action. The change came over both Verrier and Mary without any prompting from anybody at all.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MOHAN.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, pp. 215-16]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
7th April 1933.

My dear Ghanshyamdas,
I have your letter of 20th March.

I do not mind those who have, under a mistaken notion, gone away from the Hindu fold, returning when they like. But what I cannot understand is the occasion for any expense whatsoever in connection with their return. For, if they have left the Hindu fold under a mistaken notion, as soon as they discover their mistake, it is itself a sufficient Prayaschit, and no further ceremony is necessary. So much on the merits. Assuming that there must be some expense which the returning Domes cannot be expected to pay, why should not the S. U. S. bear the expense or contribute its quota ? I should give my answer in the negative because I feel that the S. U. S. has its very defined sphere, namely, service of the Hindu Harijans. It has no connection with those who are today not Hindus. Its sphere begins after the return of the prodigals. The latter is the function of separate organization altogether. Here therefore there is no question of fear, but it is a question of confining ourselves to the original purpose. However limited it may be, the return of the Domes is a kind of Shuddi, and the difference between the extreme Shuddi and this modified Shuddi is a difference in degree only. And once the Society takes up this modified form, it would be most difficult for it to lend its assistance to the various other shades. However desirable therefore the return of the Domes to Hinduism may be, I am quite clear that its encouragement by the Society is outside the scope laid down at its very foundation.

2

As to the advertisement of the Titaghur Mills, I am quite clear that we may not entertain, their advertisement in any shape or form, and if it is a matter of getting cheap paper, it can be had from many other mills without the slightest difficulty. We are getting the paper for the English edition at less than market price. It was possible to have a still more reduced quotation, but I thought it would not be proper to ask for further accommodation,

As to the Hindi *Harijan*, I have already told you that it is getting on quite satisfactorily, and if you persist in the effort, I have no doubt that you will make it self-supporting in about a month's time. You will see the note about it in the ensuing number of the English *Harijan*.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 253]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

Dated the 9th April 1933

From

Home, New Delhi ;

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

The Secretary of State has received request from the Secretary of the Baptist Union for permission to be given to some of Gandhi's friends in London to write him a letter expressing their opposition to his present behaviour. The Secretary of State suggests that this should be allowed as special case and that Gandhi should be allowed to answer letter if he wants to on the clear understanding that correspondence will not be made public. He considers that this undertaking would be observed at that end and that a refusal to accede to this request would have a bad effect on moderate opinion in England and would be difficult to defend in public.

2. We were about to address you with reference to your letter No. S.D. 1996, dated the 30th March. We recognise that there is considerable force in the points you have made. We are inclined to the view that in modification of the orders contained in my previous letter general rule should be that letters addressed to Gandhi asking him to abandon civil disobedience should only be allowed in exceptional circumstances and in deciding that we should have regard not only to terms of letter but to such points as the position of correspondent and possibility of political capital being made out of the correspondence. If criterion is accepted it seems difficult to refuse special request of the Secretary of the Baptist Union and we propose if the Government of Bombay do not object to inform the Secretary of State that we agree that a letter may be sent on the condition stated by him. Please telegraph your views.

[True Copy]

Assistant Superintendent
H. D. Special.

Received in H. D. (Special) on 10th April 1933, at 11-10 hours.
Decoded at 12-15 hours.

Copy to :

H. M.
H. E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 439]

New Delhi, 10th April 1932

My Dear Diwan Bahadur,

I have considered the question raised in your letter of the 7th April in which you have explained that you wish to request Mr. Gandhi to contribute an article for the Commemoration Volume in connection with the Dayanand Ardha Shatabdi. Government have allowed Mr. Gandhi considerable latitude for prosecuting his movement in connection with depressed classes. But it is to be remembered that he is still a State prisoner, and as such it does not seem to me right that he should be invited to contribute an article for a commemoration volume, even if it is confined to non-political topics. I am sorry to cause you disappointment, but I feel that you will realise our point of view.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) H. G. HAIG

Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A
4, Ferozshah Road

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 363]

GANDHI ASHRAM
Tiruchengodu (South India)
11th April 1933

My dear Bapu,

After coming here, I had to leave immediately to attend a quarterly meeting of the Provincial Board of the Servants of Untouchables Society at Trichino-poly.

Papa has automatically improved on my arrival. Something is wrong with Narasimhan and he is lying in bed taking complete rest. I intend leaving for Madras presently for an examination and treatment of Papa's teeth and eyes.

I have received a telegram from Sjt. Harbildas Sarda that the Government has rejected his request for circulation of Bills by executive orders or in the alternative for the allotment of an additional non-Official day in this session. The situation therefore is this. The temple entry bill will come up for

further discussion of the motion for circulation on the first non-official day in the autumn session. This cannot be blocked by anything else and is bound to be completed. If it is passed, it cannot be ready for further progress until sometime thereafter. The other bill will have to be balloted for in order to make any motion thereon even in the autumn session and can be obstructed. Thus circulation to elicit opinion on the temple entry bill does not necessarily mean circulation of the untouchability bill. Though the 2 bills are so intimately connected, the fact that Government refuses to give any facility whatever brings about this result.

In refusing to order circulation by executive instructions and refusing to allot half a day extra in this session, Government has definitely decided that the next six months should be merely a blank in regard to the two bills. There could have been no argument against the grant of the request for circulation by executive order which would have meant the utilisation of the next six months for eliciting public opinion without in any manner throwing their weight on the side of the reform or giving room for complaint on the part of orthodoxy.

I feel that you should comment on the subject in the *Harijan* at least for the benefit of those friends outside India who are watching the progress of these legislative proposals. Andrews imagines that Government cannot possibly be against us in this. I hope Vallabhbhai is better.

Love to all of you there,

(Sd.) RAJA

[H. D, (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 307]

This letter refers to the problems of Indians abroad which Mr. Andrews thinks, are likely to be neglected while the Indian constitution is occupying public attention. He indicates his plans for future work on behalf of Indians in British Guiana, Trinidad and South Africa. The real object of the letter however appears to be to elicit Mr. Gandhi's opinion whether it would be advisable for him to leave England next cold weather. He pretends to show great concern about the work in England in connection with the *Harijan* and the cause of untouchables but he betrays himself when he adds 'the question of many months absence during the full parliamentary Session here in England makes me anxious'. The reference to 'Henry' on the last page is to H. S. L. Polak who came out to India in January last, had two interviews with Mr. Gandhi during his stay in India and returned recently to England.

2. It may however be observed that, judging from the general attitude of the Government of India (they allowed another recent letter from Mr. Andrews which we considered objectionable to be delivered) they do not wish us to

place undue restrictions on Mr. Gandhi's incoming correspondence but that they attach more importance to his outgoing correspondence. If on this principle the letter is allowed to go on,, the Superintendent may be asked to refer to Government for orders the reply to it.

For orders.

Yes.

(Sd) R. M. M.
11th April

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 257]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 45, dated 11th April 1933

To

Home, New Delhi.

Your No. 922, dated 9th April.

Secretary Baptist Union will presumably write *qua* Secretary to Gandhi and correspondence will be known to leading officials of Union. Its existence is therefore likely to become known to other friends of Gandhi most of whom have better claims to address him regarding his position than the Baptist Union. Bombay Government therefore consider that the terms on, which this request is admitted as special and exceptional do not materially modify the instructions in your letter No. D. 2038/33/Poll of 23rd March. Secondly if Gandhi is informed on delivery of the letter that he will be allowed to answer it on condition that the correspondence is not made public Government will in effect invite him to engage in correspondence which may be controversial. In any event Baptist Union may desire to answer his reply if given. On his side also Gandhi may ask for privileges similar to that accorded to the Union in receiving letters from his friends and in answering these letters. Bombay Government would not object to receipt of similar letters from friends, subject to limitations mentioned in para. 2 of your telegram but wish to reserve the right of forwarding replies to them. Therefore while they do not object to Baptist Union's letter being sent to Gandhi they hold the view strongly that Gandhi should not be informed that he will be allowed to answer the letter unless and until he writes a reply on his own initiative or asks permission to send a reply.

BOMBAY SPECIAL

Note—Copy sent to H. E. (P. S. G.) on 11th April 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 255]

Herewith draft reply to Government of India.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
10th April.

See H. D.
H. E.

(Sd.) F. H. S.
11th April 1933

Issue as amended by H. E. in the typed copy. H. M. has seen.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
11th April

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV. p. 441]

New Delhi
4, Ferozshah Road
12th April 1933

My Dear Sir.

I acknowledge your Demi-Official Note of 10th April 1933. I am afraid I am not able to explain properly the object I had in view, when I wrote to you my letter of the 7 th April, and I take the liberty to write to you again in the matter. I wish to ask Mahatma Gandhi to write an article for me on the question of untouchability pure and simple, and how to remove it in India. When Mahatma Gandhi is free to discuss the question of untouchability with every one who cares to go to him in the Yeravda Jail ; and when he is free every week to contribute to the *Harijan* (a weekly paper) articles on untouchability, I find it difficult to understand that you will not be able to see your way to allow him to write an article on untouchability, and nothing but untouchability, for me. I trust now that I have made the matter quite clear, you will be able to grant my request and allow Mahatma Gandhi to write for me an article on Untouchability.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) HAR BII AS SARDA

Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S. I., Etc.,
Home Member,
Government of India, New Delhi.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 67]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 2177

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Bombay Castle, 13th April 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 277, dated the 29th March 1933, regarding Mr. Gandhi's request to be allowed to correspond freely with prisoner Jamnalal Bajaj on matters of health and untouchability, I am directed to state that in view of prisoner Jamnalal's release from the Arthur Road Prison on the 5th instant on part payment of fine, the point raised by Mr. Gandhi does not now arise.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. M.

12th April.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 67]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

13th April 1933

My dear Charlie,

You will see in this week's *Harijan* a reply to your difficulty about the fast. I shall anxiously await your criticism. The story of Nineveh came into my hands quite accidentally, but it fitted in so well as I thought.

In your letter of 22nd March you have asked a question about Dr. Subba- royan's Bill. As soon as I got the Bill I felt the difficulty about a fair majority myself and I brought it up to Rajagopalachari's notice. I had suggested too an amendment even to the extent of three-fourths majority being required, because my idea always has been that unless the majority is a very decisive majority, the big reform contemplated could not work satisfactorily, and you

must have seen how I have contemplated meeting the objection even of a minority of one, because what might be superstition to me may be a matter of life and death to that minority of one. His particular temple might be all in all to him and that it might be his absolute faith that the temple will be no good to him if he had to offer worship side by side with a Harijan. But all these things are to be done when the proper time arrives. I have discussed them publicly too, but I do not want to re-open the discussion because nobody thinks of it just now. But you can have the assurance and give it to those who need it that when the Bill reaches the Committee stage an amendment for a decisive majority will certainly be carried, and any other amendment that might satisfy the Sanatanists and that would leave the principle in tact will most decidedly be accepted.

Mahadev has not yet made any guess about the name you have for me. I have no doubt that you have many names and not only one.

Thangai naturally would want to say nothing to me about your capacity for taking in dates because she knows that there at least I could always beat you and not by a bare majority.

About under-stamping of the envelope, there was no economy, false or otherwise, possible for us, not having been ever a prisoner, you evidently fancy that we are free to do as we like even to the extent of putting on stamps ! You may then know that stamps are not affixed by us. They are affixed in the prison office.

My stock of Punyam having run out, I am being released on the 19th May. Pyarelal is in Nasik, and might perhaps replace me.

Love from us all,
Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MOHAN

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 319*]

TELEGRAM

14th April 1933

To

V. J. Patel,
C/o India Office, London.

God spare you. Wire condition.

GANDHI

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 321*]

Secretary's Note

I do not see why the India Office should be charged with the duty of transmitting Gandhi's prayers for the health of a notorious revolutionary who has done nothing but vilify Government in every country he has visited.

Mr. Gandhi may be informed that the telegram cannot be despatched unless it is correctly addressed.

(Sd.) R. M. B.
15th April

H. M.,

A. We can of course leave it to the India Office to decide this point.

And after all Mr. Patel worked, though maliciously within the constitution and held high office under it.

I do not care about raising a semi-technical objection to a message of this kind to a man who is probably dying.

The message is 'unobjectionable'. Mr. Gandhi can have little difficulty in getting another address for the delivery of the telegram. It is just possible that he addresses it c/o the India Office from a quaint sense of propriety.

But of course a doorkeeper may easily refuse delivery—'V. J. Patel not known here'—or the India Office may take as long to find Mr. Patel's address as they sometimes do to forward letter to officers on leave.

The telegram may be allowed to go but it should first be suggested to Mr. Gandhi that it would probably obtain speedier delivery if sent to Mr. Patel's address or that of a private friend. Otherwise the question of delivery may be left to the India Office (Note in next weekly letter to Government of India).

(Sd.) R. D. B.
16th April

Inform I. G. P. accordingly.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
17th April.

[H. D, (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 323]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 221

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Bombay Castle, 18th April 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 329, dated 14th April 1933. I am directed to return herewith the cable from Mr. Gandhi to 'V. J. Patel, c/o

India Office, London' and to state that there is no objection to its being allowed to go on, but it should first be suggested to Mr. Gandhi that it would probably obtain speedier delivery if sent to Mr. Patel's address or that of a private friend. It may also be pointed out to him that it is reported in today's issue of the *Times of India* that Mr. Patel has left for Vienna.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. M.

18th April

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 325*]

ORIGINAL

THE TIMES OF INDIA

18th April 1933

Mr. V. J. Patel,
London, April 17.

Mr. V. J. Patel has left for Vienna.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 329*]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

19th April 1933

Dear Sir,

The enclosed cable was sent by me on the 13th instant to the Superintendent for despatch. On the 17th, I learnt on inquiry that it was sent to the Inspector-General. On the same day I complained to the Superintendent about the delay in sending the message. I have now at 2-20 p.m., 19th instant learnt that orders have been received that 'there is no objection to the despatch of the cable'.

Happily Sjt. V. J. Patel seems to be in no immediate danger. I have no desire to send the cable now as it is. Nor have I got the patient's address in Vienna where he has been sent for treatment. I am inquiring about the address.

But I cannot help protesting against the delay in a matter involving the life of a human being, this time not a prisoner. One matter of delay in the case of a prisoner whose life is in danger is pending before Government.

Cables such as the one to Sjt. V. J. Patel, the Government will admit, are of, use only if they are sent in time. I have known such cables to have given great consolation to their receivers. I cannot allow myself to think that in such matters the Government have no regard for the feelings of persons in their custody. Was it necessary to detain the cable for seven days ? I should like to have my position defined. If I have the liberty to send such cables, the Government should empower the authority in immediate custody to handle them. I venture to suggest that the present procedure is unfair and unnecessary. I need hardly point out that the cable was meant to be as well from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the patient's brother, as from me.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Bombay.
Copy of the cable.

To

V. J. Patel,
c/o India Office, London.
God spare you wire condition.

Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's incoming correspondence, the I. G. may perhaps be asked to refer to Government for orders Mr. Gandhi's reply to this letter.

Secretary :—

'Mother India' is controversial only from the point of view of social reform. It is not anti-Government or connected with C. D. O.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
19th April

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 369]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 2245
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 19th April 1933

To

The I. G. of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

In returning herewith the three letters addressed to Mr. Gandhi which were received with your endorsement No. 340, dated the 17th April 1933, I am

directed to inform you that they may be delivered. I am however to request that if Mr. Gandhi should send a reply to Mr. Harry Bowman's letter, it should be referred to Government for orders.

I have etc.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
19th April
Secretary to Government.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part IV. p. 313*]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
21st April 1933

My dear Charlie,

I have your long letter giving me your views about the proposed visit to British Guiana, South Africa etc. I think that these outposts have come to abide with you. I do not need any elaborate argument to convince me of it. Now and again you are bound to receive a call from them and it is best to respond to such calls. You should therefore undoubtedly go to British Guiana, and then to South Africa, then to East Africa and return via India. That will give you mental satisfaction, keep you up-to-date with the things for which you have qualified yourself and it will give satisfaction to the people concerned, and the work that you can do in these several parts, you alone can do. It does not matter a bit whether it appears today substantial or insubstantial, and whilst you are absent on duty from England you will believe, I shall certainly believe, that it will not suffer because you will be absent, not for your pleasure, but on duty.

I hope that the care about your brother has not proved too great for you and that his removal to a hospital has benefited him.

Love from us all.

(Sd) MOHAN.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 373*]

22nd April 1933

ORIGINAL

My Dear C. R.,

Your letter of 11th April was received by me only yesterday. Unfortunate, but there it is.

There is a delicacy about writing on the fate of the Bills. I would be prepared to write to the Viceroy and also to the Secretary of State, if you think it worthwhile, but I do not feel inclined to write about them publicly. It is hardly a dignified spectacle, a prisoner.

(Sd.) MOHAN

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 443]

We may perhaps reply that provided that Mr. Gandhi's article is confined to the uplift of the untouchables it appears to be covered by the concessions allowed to him by the Government of India in regard So publicity on this subject, and that the Government of Bombay do not therefore see any objection to the proposal.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
24th April

H.M.,
H.E. (P. S. G.)
I agree.

The ' concession ' will not encourage in any way the C. D. O. movement one way of looking at these requests.

It is open also to D. B. Sarda to request Mr. Gandhi directly to publish an article on the subject desired in ' Harijan ' and Government could not object to him doing so. The article could in fact be reproduced by the Diwan Bahadur.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
25th April

(Sd.) F. H. S.
25th April 1933.

H. E. (P. S. G.)

[H. D. (Spl. Br), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV. pp. 333-37]

Mr. Gandhi complains of the delay in the disposal of the cable which he desired to send to Mr. V. J. Patel and says ' I should like to have my position defined. If I have the liberty to send such cables the Government should empower the authority in immediate custody to handle them '.

2. Attention is invited to—Secretary's note and H. M.'s minute at pp. 5-6 *ante*. The Inspector-General of Prisons may be asked to inform Mr. Gandhi that the delay in this case was due to the fact that the cable having been addressed to the care of the India Office, London, instead of the address of Mr. Patel or to that of a friend, the Jail authorities considered it necessary to refer the matter to Government for orders, that the Easter holidays prevented an earlier disposal of the reference and the delay was therefore unavoidable. There would seem to be no harm in informing him also that under the existing orders, the Superintendent is allowed discretion to pass correspondence which is unobjectionable and that a reference is made to Government only in doubtful cases ' A '.

Secretary :—

H.M.

I would not put the matter as though Government was bound to render to Mr. Gandhi explanations for any delay over his correspondence. The fact is that he is not at liberty to send any cables or letters (other than those covered by the untouchability orders) which have not been considered and passed. As a State prisoner he and his correspondence are entirely at the disposal of Government and he has no rights or 'liberties' which he can assert as against Government. In this particular case it was at last doubtful whether he should be allowed to command the services of the India Office in the matter and it was only out of special consideration for the nature of the message that it was allowed to be sent in this form at all. He now makes a grievance of the delay which was occasioned by his own procedure.

I would not inform him as suggested at 'A' as that would turn his wrath against the Superintendent.

Mr. Gandhi may perhaps be informed in answer to his letter that the jail authorities were (perfectly) correct in referring for the orders of Government to a telegram in which he sought to make use of the services of the India Office to convey a private message and (that delay in such cases is "unavoidable") that when such matters have been referred to Government they cannot be given precedence over all other business. He may also be informed that except in so far as the restrictions on his correspondence have been relaxed by the Government of India in regard to untouchability, he is not entitled as a matter of right to receive or send any communications which have not been passed for delivery under such procedure as Government think necessary.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

24th April

H. M.

A—A seems sufficient.

(Sd.) R. D. B.

24th April

H. E. (P- S. G.)

(Sd.) F. H. S.

25th April 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 337]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 2318

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Bombay Castle, 25th April 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 349, dated the 20th instant, forwarding a letter, dated the 19th instant, from Mr. M. K. Gandhi regarding the delay in the disposal of the cable which he desired to send to Mr. V. J. Patel, I am directed to request that Mr. Gandhi may be informed, in answer to his letter, that the jail authorities were correct in referring for the orders of Government to a telegram in which he sought to make use of the services of the India Office and that delay in such cases is unavoidable.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. M.

25th April

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 343]

ORIGINAL

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

26th April 1933

My Dear Verrier,

I was wondering why I had not heard from you for a long time. I am glad Shamrao is much better and that you were both overhauled by a first class doctor. Of course I shall trust you to give me faithful reports about your health and I am so glad that the intestinal ulcer and the enlarged spleen were pure inventions. I hope that your chicken-pox never became 'small'

and that it is not entirely a thing of the past. I hope too that you found Mary quite happy and cheerful.

Love to you all from us all.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 349]

To

Father Elwin.

Copy of a telegram from Sunderlal, 56 Chak, Allahabad, to Mahatma Gandhi, Central Prison, Poona, dated the 27th April 1933.

Allahabad observing Dvivedi Mela 4th May in honour Seventieth Birthday Pandit Mahabirprasad Dvivedi father present day Hindustani language its greatest writer. Function purely social literary. Malviyaji opening. Hindu lovers joining from all India. Pray for your Blessing and message.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 489]

The original letter referred to in the Government of India telegrams at pages 1 and 7 *ante* has just been received from the I. G. Prisons and is placed on the file.

Secretary's Note

The letter itself is not like those previously discussed with the Government of India, since it does not urge Mr. Gandhi to abandon civil disobedience and thus open the way for a defence of it in his reply. It does however invite him to be present in person and since H. E. the Viceroy has been asked to 'co-operate by facilitating your reply to and acceptance of our ' invitation the whole thing appears to amount to an indirect request for Mr. Gandhi's release in order that he may be exhibited on the Chicago platform.

There is no meaning in passing this effusion on to Mr. Gandhi unless those in whose custody he is, are prepared to 'co-operate ' in the desired manner and although Mr. Gandhi could be trusted to keep off forbidden topics in his reply he would be quick to point out the real situation and thus to throw whatever odium was possible on the Indian Government. Perhaps this is what the Government of India mean by saying that his reply, if permitted, would 'almost inevitably be of the nature of world propaganda ', although this phrase seems to take the 'World Fellowships of Faiths' too seriously.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
27th April

(Sd.) R. D. B.
28th April

(Sd.) F. H. S.
28th April 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 379]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
Poona, April 27, 1933

Dear Friend,

I thank you for your long letter.

I had one visit from Miss Mayo when she was in India. I have read her book and I wrote also a review on it which at that time had attracted considerable attention. It is my firm conviction that the book is filled with half-truths, innuendos and deductions drawn from stray facts as if they represented a universal situation.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Harry Bowan Esq.,
Beatrice, Neb.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 389]

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT TELEGRAM

No. 50, dated 28th April 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Your telegrams Nos. 1052 and 1057 of 25th and 26th instant. Original letter withheld and received yesterday from Jail authorities for orders. Bombay Government agree generally in views of Government of India and further have strong objections to delivering to Gandhi, while a State Prisoner, a letter inviting his personal presence in America before next November.

Bombay Special.

Note :

Copy sent to H. E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 445]

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. S.D. 2364

Bombay, 28th April 1933

With reference to your demi-official letter No. S.D. 2702/33-Poll., dated the 22nd instant regarding the request of Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A., for permission to approach Mr. Gandhi for an article on the uplift of the untouchables for inclusion in the Commemoration Volume to be published in connection with the Dayanand Ardha Shatabdi, I am desired to state that, provided that Mr. Gandhi's article is confined to the uplift of the untouchables, it appears to be covered by the concessions allowed to him by the Government of India in regard to publicity on this subject, and that the Government of Bombay do not therefore see any objection to the proposal.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

28th April

The Honourable Mr. M. G. Hallett, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 351]

With reference to Secretary's question, we have no information about the institution under whose auspices the Mela in honour of the 70th birthday of Pandit Mahabirprasad Dvivedi is to be held at Allahabad.

2. According to the sender of the telegram, the function is purely social and literary and Mr. Gandhi's ' blessing and message' is solicited. There is no precedent on all fours with these cases. We have had instances of the following kind :

(1) Letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Provincial Shia Conference, Bihar and Orissa, to Mr. Gandhi asking for the contribution of an article to the book on Imam Husain which the Shia Conference proposed to publish. The letter was allowed to go on.

(2) Letter from the editorial board of the Commemoration Volume in honour of Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray's 70th Birthday, to Mr. Gandhi, in which he was asked to contribute towards the Volume which was to contain articles dealing with science, literature and subjects of a non-political character. The letter was allowed to go, and Mr. Gandhi duly sent his ' humble tribute ' which also was allowed to be transmitted.

(3) Telegram from Dr. Syed Mahmud to Mr. Gandhi asking him to send his—blessings and good wishes to the Unity Conference which was then (October last) being held at Allahabad. This telegram was withheld on the analogy of the policy enunciated by the Hon'ble the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in answer to short notice questions in connection with these unity talks and Mr. Shaukat Ali's request for an interview with Mr. Gandhi to the effect that ' Mr. Gandhi is detained in jail on account of civil disobedience which is still his avowed programme and that a prisoner must necessarily suffer from disabilities and cannot expect to take part in the ordinary public life of the country' and ' Government cannot permit Mr. Gandhi to take part in the discussion of ordinary political questions '.

(4) If the telegram under consideration is allowed to reach Mr. Gandhi, it will be difficult to refuse to transmit my message which he will undoubtedly wish to send and it would seem inconsistent with Mr. Gandhi's position as a State prisoner to allow him, in the words of the Government of India, to take part in the ordinary public life of the country. It may be anticipated moreover that numberless organisations of an ostensibly non-political character will regard this as a precedent for approaching Mr. Gandhi with similar requests. In the most recent case in which Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A. asked the Home Member of the Government of India for permission to request Mr. Gandhi to contribute 'an article for the Commemoration Volume in connection with the Dayanand Ardha Shatabdi not having any bearing (before he made it clear that the article he wanted was on untouchability) on politics, the Home Member replied 'it is to be remembered that he (Mr. Gandhi) is still a State prisoner, and as such it does not seem to me right that he should be invited to contribute an article for a Commemoration Volume, even if it is confined to non-political topics'. On the other hand, attention is requested to H. M.'s minute of 25th April in which he stated 'the "concession" will not encourage in any way the C. D. O. Movement, one way of looking at his requests ". If the latter criterion is to be applied in the present case under consideration, then presumably the telegram should be passed for delivery.

For orders.

Secretary :—

H.M.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to draw the line as regards Mr. Gandhi's correspondence. On the principle stated in the Hon'ble Sir H. Haig's letter quoted at ' A ' above some of the communications already passed should not have been allowed. -On the other hand it appears that this letter was written under the impression that Mr. Gandhi was invited to select from a very wide range of subjects some of them controversial, to which the principle quoted at ' B ' was thought to apply. Mr. Gandhi's ordinary correspondence is however regulated on the basis of whether it is ' objectionable ' or not : and it has lately been laid down that this criterion is to be applied only to the contents and not to the *subject* of the communications, although this principle would seem always to be qualified by that enunciated at ' C '. On the principles hitherto followed the present telegram would ordinarily have been delivered, and any inoffensive message which Mr. Gandhi sent in response to it would have been passed. But it is true that it would involve publicity not on a subject connected with untouchability, and the passage quoted at ' A ' may mean that the G. of I. think that even unobjectionable communications should be disallowed if their purpose is publicity. But I do not think this is even implied in any of the instructions we have received.

Please bring personally and show me all the authorities on the subject of Gandhi's correspondence.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
30th April

[H. D. (Spl, Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 31]

Statement issued by Mr. Gandhi to the Press on 30th April 1933 before his fast (copied from the TIMES OF INDIA of the 1st May 1933)

' As I look back upon the immediate past, many are the causes too sacred to mention that must have precipitated the fast,' says Mr. Gandhi in the course of a statement to the press and adds ' but they are all connected with the great Harijan cause '.

A TEMPEST WITHIN

' A tempest has been raging within me for some days. I have been struggling against it. On the eve of Harijan Day the voice became insistent and said ' Why don't you do it ? ' I resisted it. But the resistance was in vain. And a resolution was made to undertake an unconditional and irrevocable fast for 21 days commencing from Monday noon, May 8, and ending on Monday noon, May 29.

' The fast is against nobody in particular and against everybody who wants to participate in the joy of it without, for the time being, having to fast himself or herself. But it is particularly against myself. It is a heart prayer for the purification of self and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness. But nobody who appreciates the step about to be taken is to join me. Any such fast will be a torture of themselves and of me,' adds Mr. Gandhi.

' Let this fast, however, be a preparation for many such fasts to be taken by purer and more deserving persons than myself. During all these months since September last I have been studying correspondence and literature and holding prolonged discussions with men and women, learned and ignorant, Harijans and non-Harijans.

' The evil is far greater than ever I had thought it to be. It will not be eradicated by money, external organisation and even political power for Harijans, though all these three are necessary. But to be effective they must follow or at least accompany inward wealth, inward organisation and inward power; in other words, self-purification. This can only come by fasting and prayer. We may not approach the God of Truth in arrogance of strength but in the meekness of the weak and the helpless.

' But a mere fast of the body is nothing without the will behind it. There must be a genuine confession of inner fast, irrepressible, longing to express truth and nothing but truth. Therefore those only are privileged to fast for the cause of truth who have worked for it and who have the love in them even for their opponents, who are free from animal passion and who have

abjured earthly possessions and ambition. No one, therefore, may undertake without previous preparation and discipline the fast I have foreshadowed.

' Let there be no misunderstanding about the impending fast. I have no desire to die. I want to live for the cause, though I hope I am equally prepared to die for it. But I need for me and my fellow-workers greater purity, greater application and dedication. I want more workers of unassailable purity.

PURELY RELIGIOUS

' Shocking cases of impurity have come under my notice. I would like my fast to be an urgent appeal to such people to leave the cause alone.'

' I know many of my Sanatanist friends and others think that the movement is a deep political game. How I wish this fast would convince them that it is purely religious."

' If God has more service to take from this body he will hold it together despite the deprivation of earthly food. He will send me spiritual food. But he works through earthly agents and everyone who believes in the imperative necessity of removing untouchability will send me the food I need by working to the best of his or her ability for the due and complete fulfilment of the pledge given to Harijans in the name of caste Hindus.

' Let co-workers not get agitated over the coming fast. They should feel strengthened by it. They must not leave their post of duty and those who have temporarily retired for much needed rest or for being cured of ailments are as much at the post as healthy workers serving in their respective quarters.

' No one should come to me unless it be for necessary consultation on matters connected with the movement.'

' It is, I hope, needless for me to pray to my friends that they will not ask me to postpone, abandon or vary the approaching fast in any way whatsoever. I ask them to believe me that the fast has come to me literally as described above. I therefore ask friends in India and all the world over to pray for me and with me that I may safely pass through the ordeal and that whether I live or die the cause for which the fast is to be taken may prosper. And may I ask my Sanatanist friends to pray whatever be the result of the fast for me, that the golden lid that hides truth may be removed.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 37]

Mr. GANDHI'S TELEGRAM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BEFORE HIS FAST.

1st May 1933

Secretary,
Home Department, Simla.

For reasons wholly unconnected with Government and solely connected with Harijan movement and obedience peremptory call from within received about

midnight I have to take twenty-one days unconditional irrevocable fast with water-soda and salt beginning from noon 8th May next ending noon 29th May stop Fast might have commenced at once but for my being prisoner and my anxiety to enable local authority receive necessary instructions for arrangements during fast and avoid all possible embarrassment to Government.

(Sd.) **GANDHI**

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 387]

ORIGINAL

TELEGRAM

1st May 1933

To

Satisdas Gupta,
15, College Square, Calcutta.

You Hemprabha continue programme without interruption God my companion during fast.

BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 389]

ORIGINAL

ORDINARY

1st May 1933

To

Urmila Devi,
24, Rameshmitter Road,
Bhawanipur (Calcutta).

You must not worry over impending fast why no letter.

BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 391]

ORIGINAL

1st May 1933

To

Sheth Jamanalaji,
Shaila Ashram, Almoda.

You must not disturb programme rest for impending fast hope progressing.

BAPU

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 415]

TELEGRAM

Dated 1st May 1933

From

Maharaj Singh, Agent of Government of India,
Capetown ;

To

Mahatma Gandhi,
Yeravda Jail, Poona, India.

Following telegram has been sent to me by General Smuts in his private capacity for transmission to you. Begins May I appeal to you most earnestly to delay your announced fast. Your work for removal of untouchability has already achieved measure of success which exceeds highest expectations. With patience you may yet carry complete accomplishment of greatest reform of our time. Moreover India stands on threshold of new period which makes your wise guidance in future more essential than ever before. Endangering your life might lead to dreadful calamity and irreparable setback at most critical moment. I appeal for old friendship's sake and for great causes you have championed so successfully ends. In forwarding this telegram wish on my own behalf and I feel sure on behalf of Indian community in South Africa to endorse sentiment expressed by General Smuts.

The previous authorities do not cover the point. Mr. Gandhi is allowed to receive or send any number of communications which are not in themselves objectionable, and in case No. 2 quoted in the office note prospective publicity was not held to make the communication objectionable.

The present telegram may perhaps be passed for delivery to Mr. Gandhi.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
1st May

H.M,

(Sd.) R. D. B.
1st May.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 7]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 52, dated the 1st May 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Clear-the-line.

Following is text of a telegram from Gandhi for Secretary, Home Department, Simla, which was received from the Inspector-General of Prisons today. Begins :—

'For reasons wholly unconnected with Government and solely connected with Harijan movement and obedience peremptory call from within

received about midnight I have to take twenty-one days unconditional irrevocable fast with water soda and salt beginning from noon 8th May next ending noon 29th May. Fast might have commenced at once but for my being prisoner and my anxiety to enable local authority receive necessary instructions for arrangements during fast and avoid all possible embarrassment to Government.' Ends.

BOMBAY SPECIAL.

Copies to :—

H. M.

H. E. (P. S.G.)

[H. D (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, pp. 11-17]

CONFIDENTIAL

URGENT

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Poona, 3rd May 1933

My Dear Maxwell,

In continuation of our conversation by telephone today and in confirmation of the same, I am sending you in writing the suggestions etc. I then made in connection with the contemplated fast by State Prisoner Gandhi.

1.As Government will be held to be responsible that everything possible is done to prolong Mr. Gandhi's life even though the fast is voluntarily undertaken, I consider that all interviews, except those of a very urgent nature and those with his relations should be stopped on medical grounds from the date, the time, the fast commences. If Mr. Gandhi specially desires to see anybody, ordinarily not objectionable to Government the interview may be permitted. This step I consider absolutely necessary if his strength is to be conserved. I do not think anything in the way of an issue of official orders is necessary.

2.I would also suggest that it would be very helpful to the Medical Officer in charge of the Jail if he were assisted in his responsibility by (a) The Civil Surgeon, Poona, (b) By a private practitioner of standing. This letter's presence would allay public agitation and prevent wild rumours gaining circulation and credence. I suggest that Dr. Gilder, M.D.. M.L.C., Bombay, be asked if he would be prepared to collaborate with the two other Medical Officers, as he did on the occasion of Mr. Gandhi's last fast. Daily bulletins, signed by all three Medical Officers would be an authoritative statement and useful to Government in more ways than one.

3.I propose moving Mr. Gandhi to the yard where he was during the last fast, and only permitting those prisoners selected as his ' sick attendants' to

be with him. I would rather that State prisoner Vallabhbhai Patel was not included in this category. Mahadev Desai is due for release on the 18th May.

4. On the previous occasion Mrs. Gandhi was, as she is now, a prisoner in Ahmedabad Central Prison. She was moved to Poona by order of Government. I consider a repetition of this courtesy would weigh heavily with the public in Government's favour.

5. Mrs. Naidu was of very great assistance to the jail authorities during the last fast helping with the nursing and in keeping away undesirable visitors. She was also able to some extent to get Mr. Gandhi to be reasonable in respect of the numbers of people he desired to see, for in spite of everything said to the contrary he loves a gallery. I therefore suggest that as this lady is in Poona, she be specially allowed to visit Mr. Gandhi in jail during his fast— as I am convinced that she will be of the greatest assistance to the jail staff.

6. If it is decided to release Mr. Gandhi—I suggest that early arrangements be made so that there will be a Medical Officer to whom charge of his case can be handed over. Dr. Gilder may be prepared to take over charge or he may be in a position to suggest a doctor or doctors who would be agreeable to take this responsibility. This is absolutely necessary as Government cannot just release Gandhi and take no further responsibility.

7. I understand that arrangements have been made for suitable accommodation for Mr. Gandhi in this contingency, Maclachlan will be communicating details—I consider the site selected (Sewak of India Ashram near the Lakdi Pool, Poona City) suitable from the jail point of view—and I think there will be enough room for even a Resident Medical Officer if one is necessary.

8. On the last occasion, music was permitted by the then Home Member—to Mr. Gandhi. He had an instrumentalist from the City. There have been so many unusual concessions granted, that I do not suppose there will be any objection to a similar request being gratified on this occasion also. This will complete the Gilbertian touch—would be a pity to spoil the ship for a haporth of tar.

9. Lastly—I do not anticipate that there will be any very serious change in Mr. Gandhi's general health till after the tenth day. On the last occasion he collapsed about the 6th day but then he was interviewing delegations all day and late into the night and had the uncertainty and worry as additional factors to contend against. This time these will be absent—so I do not think the danger zone will be entered till about the tenth day of the fast.

I shall be glad if you will let me know Government's opinion and policy on the points raised.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE.

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S., J. P.,
Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 {40} (3), Part IV, p. 449]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

D.O. No. D. 3016/33-Poll

HOME DEPARTMENT

Simla, the 4th May 1933

My Dear Diwan Bahadur,

I am desired to refer to the correspondence ending with your demi-official letter, dated the 12th April 1933, to the Honourable Home Member, and to say that the Government of India have no objection to your approaching Mr. Gandhi through the Superintendent of Yeravda Jail with the request to contribute an article on the uplift of the untouchables for inclusion in the Commemoration Volume to be published in connection with the Dayanand-Ardha Shatabdi, provided the request is made by a separate letter. They do not consider the printed circular letter form with the modifications proposed by you in your previous letter of the 7th April 1933, would be suitable for the purpose.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT

Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 39]

The following message was telephoned at 11-45 a.m. on 4th May to the G. S. O., Bombay District for communication to the G. O. C., Bombay District :—

Bombay Government wish to warn the District Commander that he may be asked to keep troops standing ready at Ahmedabad and Bombay City at the next week-end.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL

4th May 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.) File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 447]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

D.O. No. D. 3016/33-Poll.

HOME DEPARTMENT

Simla, the 5th May 1933

My Dear Maxwell,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your demi-official letter No. S.D. 2364, dated the 28th April 1933, I am desired to enclose, for

information, a copy of the reply which has been given to Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda, M.L.A.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Special).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 19]

Warnings should be given to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay and to all District Magistrates in the Presidency proper and to the Commissioner in Sind (for communication to District Magistrates in Sind) informing them that it is proposed to release Gandhi unconditionally on Monday the 8th instant after the commencement of his fast.

2. The Headquarters, Bombay District, Poona (I) Brigade Area and Southern Command should be informed of the same fact and that his release may possibly give rise to local excitement in Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad ; and the Commander, Bombay District, should be asked in view of this development to keep troops ready from Monday onwards at Bombay and Ahmedabad until Gandhi's movements and their results are known.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL

5th May

Drafts are put up for approval. Presumably the Government of India will inform other local Governments of the proposed release and we should confirm after release.

MHS

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I pp. 15-16]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

In order to give effect to the proposal that Mr. Gandhi should not be released directly from the Yeravda Central Prison but that, prior to his release, he should be taken to a private residence in Poona or elsewhere, the legal requirements would appear to be :—

(1) an order to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison (who at present detains Mr. Gandhi in his custody in accordance with the warrant, dated 3rd January 1932) to hand over the prisoner to the Inspector-General of Police or any other officer selected for the purpose, and

(2) another order to the Inspector-General of Police or the officer selected for the purpose to receive the prisoner from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, in his personal custody, arrange to remove him to the house selected and on arrival at the house to release him from custody.

Draft orders as proposed above are put up for approval. There are no precedents for this and M L. A. may be consulted if necessary.

* * * *

Id. E. L. V.

5th May 1933.

Id. H. R.

5th May 1933.

Secretary .

The papers should be sent to M. L. A. as soon as he comes to the Secretariat tomorrow morning (at about 10-30). I will discuss with him when he has seen them. I think we may possibly deal with Mr. Gandhi on the lines suggested but there seems to be no legal authority for the proposed procedure.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
5th May

MHS

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, P. 45]

It was suggested in paragraph 6 of the Inspector-General of Prisons' D.O. letter of the 3rd May, that if Mr. Gandhi was to be released, arrangements should be made for Mr. Gandhi's case to be handed over to a Medical Officer, Dr. Gilder's name being mentioned in this connection. It was then decided to await a final decision on the lines of policy to be adopted in dealing with Mr. Gandhi before approaching Dr. Gilder. No action is necessary on this point. Mr. Gandhi will be released unconditionally.

2. It is presumed that the point was discussed with the Inspector-General of Prisons last Saturday and that the necessary instructions were given to him verbally, but the matter is brought to notice in case by any chance it was overlooked.

3. Another point which is thought to be relevant and which probably also was decided verbally with the, Inspector-General of Prisons last Saturday is whether Mrs. Gandhi, who is at present a prisoner in the Ahmedabad Central Prison, is to be released in order that she may be near Mr. Gandhi, and, if so, at what stage of Mr. Gandhi's fast. If it is decided to release her, it will of course be necessary to issue a formal order for the remission of the unexpired portion of her sentence. It is presumed that orders on this point will be given later.

(Sd.) R.D.BELL
8th May
(H. Member)

H. M.

As soon as it becomes clear that Mr. Gandhi will remain in Poona Mrs. Gandhi should be released unconditionally. There is no advantage in delaying the release till nearer the inevitable crisis.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL
8th May

(Sd.).....,
H. R. (P. S. G.),
8th May 1933

With reference to H. M.'s minute above, concurred in by H. E., we have as yet received no official report of Mr. Gandhi's intended movements, but it would seem from press reports that Mr. Gandhi is anxious to conserve his energies as far as possible and from all accounts of the arrangements made for his comfort and medical care, the indications are that he proposes to carry out his fast in Lady Thackersey's bungalow at Poona. It is for orders therefore whether steps may now be taken to release Mrs. Gandhi unconditionally.

H. S. : Yes, H. Member has telephoned that this should be done now.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
10th May

Regarding Mrs. Gandhi's release

I forgot to say that this should be made at Ahmedabad where she is now. I believe it is not necessary to transfer her to Yeravda first.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
10th May
(H. Secretary)

Note.—Relevant extracts and copies of the above notes and minutes have been made over to H. D. (Proper for necessary action).

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 91]

YERAVDA MANDIR
10th May 1933

My Dear Bapuji,

I see that Bapu has issued a public statement after his release. Perhaps it was his duty to do so and he could not resist, but now I want an assurance from you that you will not allow him to have anything more to do in the matter.

Please don't allow anybody to hold any discussions or to enter into any conversations with him on this subject. It would tax his energy and involve him into violent thinking from which he must be spared at any cost. It is not possible for anybody to prevent him but you alone can do so by the

exercise of your authority to which I am sure he will willingly submit. All temptation to take his advice in the resulting complications must be resisted and he should be left severely in peace. Nothing should be done to minimise the poor chances of his going through the terrible ordeal.

If you will do so you will be giving considerable relief to many anxious souls like me in confinement.

I am keeping good health on the whole.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) VALLABHBHAI

Bapuji Madhavrao Aney,
C/o. Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), p. 1]

Extract from the FREE PRESS JOURNAL of 10th May 1933

Poona, May 8.—Following is the full text of statement issued by Gandhiji late on Monday night.

' When Colonel Doyle gave me information of my release, I thought that the best thing would be to go to Lady Thackersey's bungalow and, here I am. I cannot regard this release with any degree of pleasure and, as Sardar Vallabhbhai remarked to me yesterday, how can I take advantage of this release in order to prosecute the Civil Disobedience movement or to guide it ? This release, therefore puts upon me as a seeker of Truth and as a man of honour, a tremendous burden and a heavy strain.

This fast has to continue. I had hoped, and still I hope, not to excite myself over anything, not to take part in any discussions of any nature whatever.

The whole purpose of the fast will be frustrated if I allowed my brain to be occupied with extraneous matter, that is, any matter outside the Harijan question.'

A little study

At the same time, having been released, I shall be bound to give a little of my energy to a study of the Civil Disobedience movement. For the movement I can only say that my views about the Civil Disobedience movement have undergone no change whatever. I have nothing but praise for the bravery and self-sacrifice of the numerous civil resisters. But, having said that, I cannot help saying that the secrecy that has attended the movement is fatal to its success. If, therefore, the movement should continue, I would urge those who are guiding the movement in different parts of the country, to discard

all secrecy. I do not care, if thereby, it becomes difficult to secure a single civil resister.

There can be no doubt that fear has seized the common man and that Ordinances have cowed him down ; and I am inclined to think that the secret methods adopted are largely responsible for this demoralization.

The movement of the Civil Disobedience does not depend so much upon quantity as the quality of men and women taking part in it; and if I was leading the movement, I should insist upon quality. If this could be done, it would immediately raise the level of the movement. Mass instruction on any other terms is impossible.

' I can say nothing as to the actual campaign. The reflections I have given. I have bottled up all those many months, and I can say Sardar Vallabhbhai is at one with me in what I have said.'

' One word I would add. Whether I like it or not " during these three weeks " Civil Disobedience will be in state of terrible suspense. It would be better if the president of the Indian National Congress, Bapuji Madhavrao Aney were to officially declare suspension for full one month or even six weeks.

' Now I would make an appeal to the Government. If they want real peace in the land and if they feel that there is no real peace at present, if they feel that Ordinance rule is no rule, they would take advantage of this suspension and unconditionally discharge all civil resisters. If I survive the ordeal, it will give me time to survey the situation and tender advice both to Congress leaders, and if I may venture to do so, to Government.

' I would like to take up the thread at the point where I was interrupted when I arrived from England. If no understanding is arrived at, as a result of my effort, between the Congress and the Government and the civil disobedience is resumed it will be open to the Government, if they so choose to revive the Ordinance rule. If there is a will on the part of the Government I have no doubt that a *modus vivendi* can be found.'

' Of this so far as I am concerned I am absolutely certain, that civil disobedience cannot be withdrawn so long as numerous civil resisters are in prison and no settlement can be arrived at so long as men like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and others are buried alive. Indeed, the withdrawal of civil resistance is not within the power of any of the men who are out of prison. It is possible only for the Working Committee which was in existence at the time I was arrested.'

' I shall say no more on civil disobedience movement. Perhaps I have already said too much. If I was to say at all I could do so whilst I have still strength in me.'

' I would urge the newspaper correspondents not to worry me any more. I would urge still more the would-be visitors to restrain themselves. Let them regard me as being in prison. I shall be unfit for political or any other discussions.'

' I would like to be left in perfect peace and I would like to say to the Government that I shall not abuse the release and if I came safely through the ordeal and I find political atmosphere as murky as it is today, without taking a single step, secretly or openly in furtherance of the C. D. movement I shall invite them to take me back to Yeravda, so that I may be able to join my old companions whom I seem almost to have deserted.'

The Sardar

' It was a great privilege for me to be with Sardar Vallabhbhai. I was well aware of his matchless bravery, his burning love for his country but I had never lived with him as I had the good fortune to do during the last sixteen months. The affection which he bestowed on me was equal to that of my own dear mother. I never knew him to possess such motherly qualities. If a slightest thing happened to me he would be out of his bed. He superintended every detail of my comforts. He and my other associates had conspired together to let me do nothing. I hope Government will believe me that he always showed remarkable comprehension of the difficulties of the Government whenever we discussed any political problem. His solicitude to the farmers of Bardoli and Kaira I can never forget.'

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-A, p. 213]

Extract from the Sind C. I. D. Weekly Intelligence Summary for the week ending 13th May 1933

289. *Gandhi's Fast*.—May 8th was observed at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Rohri, Larkana, Nawabshah and Shahdadpur by holding meetings at which the public were informed of the reasons of Gandhi's resolve to fast for twenty-one days and prayers were offered asking God to give Gandhi strength to survive the ordeal. Appeals were also made for the immediate removal of untouchability.

At a meeting held under the joint auspices of the Indian Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber on the latter's premises on the 11th May a resolution was passed asking Government to release all political prisoners and suspend all Ordinance laws to create a calm atmosphere and secure Gandhi's co-operation in forming the new Indian Constitution.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, pp. 87-88]

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. S.D. 2610

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Bombay 15th May 1933

I have talked over your letter of the 14th May with the Home Member. He thinks you were quite on the safe side in telling Mrs. Naidu that you were willing to meet Dr. Ansari and talk the case over with him before deciding whether a visit was necessary. But in view of the unnecessary trouble we have had over the request for the release of Dr. Jivraj Mehta received from a third party, H. M. thinks it would be better not to accede to any request to visit Gandhi personally if it comes from an irresponsible person, even from Mrs. Naidu or Devidas Gandhi, since it cannot be said for certain whether such a request really reflects Gandhi's wishes or not. All that we can infer from the request already made to you is that Mrs. Naidu would like you to see Gandhi, but we do not know exactly what underlies it. H. M. therefore thinks that it will be quite all right for you to see Dr. Ansari if he wishes to talk the case over with you and if, as is understood, Dr. Ansari is the medical officer in charge of the case and *himself* asks you to visit Gandhi in a consulting capacity, then it would be proper for you to do so and Government would have no objection. He also thinks that there would be no harm in your letting it be known, if approached, that you would be ready to visit Gandhi in such circumstances but not on an oral request conveyed through a third party.

As regards Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Cowasji Jehangir himself telephoned from Poona asking that his release should be cancelled as he was not wanted and a telegram was sent to Bijapur on the 12th cancelling the orders for his release. You will probably already have had a copy of the C. R. to that effect. The order for release was only issued on the 11th and I think the telegram must have been in time to stop it.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL

15th May

Lt.-Col. E. E. DOYLE, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 95]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

EXPRESS LETTER

From

Home Department, Simla;

No. S/201.
Dated 15th May 1933.

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

Rumours regarding Gandhi's death were very prevalent in Delhi yesterday and may be expected to grow more frequent. We should be glad if Government of Bombay would arrange for some local officer at Poona or in the district in which Mr. Gandhi may be to telegraph immediately to us *clear line* if Mr. Gandhi dies.

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT,
Secretary to the Government of India.

The District Magistrate, Poona may be asked to telegraph both to Government of India and to us. As he cannot send *clear line* telegram, we may send him two blank forms signed by Secretary. Submit to H. M. for order.

Copies sent to :—

H. E. (P. S. G),
H. M.

[H. D. (Spt. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 101]

SECRET

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
EXPRESS LETTER

No. D. 3337/23-Political.
Dated the 15th May 1933.

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Punjab, Simla.

Reference your express letter No. 107-P.A., dated the 9th instant. The Government of India are definitely of opinion that no official notice should be taken in the case of Mr. Gandhi's death and that no Government office, Court, or institution should be closed on that account (A). Subject to this, it seems to them to be essentially a matter for the discretion of local Governments to decide whether any latitude should be given to individual Government servants or students to absent themselves on personal grounds (B). The

Government of India agree with the suggestion of the local Government that they should inform the High Court of the action they propose to take (C).

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT,
Secretary to the Government of India.
No. D. 3337/33-Political.

Copy with copy of the letter to which it is a reply is forwarded to all local Governments and administrations for information.

By order, etc.,
(Sd.) C. W. TURNER,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

Government of Bombay.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 389]

CONFIDENTIAL

R. IWN S. D. 2804
17th May 1933

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

No. D. 2963/33-Political.
Dated 15th May 1933

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

Your telegram No. 50 of 28th April 1933. His Excellency is informing Bishop McConnell that as Gandhi is now free, the letter inviting him to World Fellowship is being delivered to him. Government of India would be glad if you would arrange for it to be delivered promptly. This should not be regarded as precedent, and other letters withheld need not be delivered.

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT,
Secretary to the Government of India.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 99]

CONFIDENTIAL

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 2657
Dated 17th May 1933

To

District, Poona.

Government of India have intimated that rumours regarding Gandhi's death were very prevalent in Delhi on the 14th instant. As such rumours

may be expected to grow more frequent, they have asked arrangements to be made for a local officer to telegraph to them immediately *clear line* if Mr. Gandhi dies. Please comply with request in event of Mr. Gandhi's death repeating telegram to Bombay Government. Two forms for sending *clear line* telegrams signed by me are attached. They should be returned if not more use of.

Bombay Special,
(Sd.) C. F. BORGES,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Secretary (for information) after issue.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
24th May

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (II), Part I, p, 105]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

As the Government of India have issued definite instructions regarding 'A', it is for orders whether we should accept the suggestion and issue a Circular Express Letter to all officers concerned and inform the High Court as desired by the Government of India (*vide* C. of their Express Letter).

2. As regards 'B' the Government of India say that this is essentially a matter for the discretion of local Governments. It is for orders what instructions, if any, should be given in this respect.

3. The Government of India letter is marked 'Secret' and if our Circular Letter is addressed to all Heads of Offices (numbering over 400) or even to Heads of Departments (numbering over 100) it will be impossible to maintain secrecy. Presumably it will suffice if the Commissioner in Sind, Commissioners of Divisions, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, Collector of Bombay, C. P. M., Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Inspector-General of Police, all D. Ms, and all District Judges are addressed.

(Sd.) B. B. CLEE
17th May

H. M.

H. E. (P. S. G.) (after issue of circular, if any)

As the Government of India have issued definite instructions regarding A, a circular letter may issue to the extent indicated in o. n. 3.

As regards B there is not likely to be difficulty at educational institutions as the colleges are on vacation. In any case H. D. may agree to latitude being given to students. Government servants in those institutions will come under the suggestion made in the next paragraph.

As regards Government servants we may leave it to the discretion of the heads of offices to allow absence on personal grounds on condition that there is no interference with the disposal of public business or inconvenience caused to the public.

The H. D. circular should not refer to the case of students but a copy of the papers should be sent to Secy., E. D. at Mahabaleshwar for consideration and action.

Prepare H. D. circular letter now for approval. The papers should go to H. E. (P. S. G.) today. If no telephone message is received from P. S. G. tomorrow the circular letter should issue tomorrow evening.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL
(H. Member)
18th May

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 115]

SECRET

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 2675
Dated 19th May 1933

To

The Commissioner in Sind,
The Commissioners of Divisions,
The Inspector General of Police,
The Commissioner of Police, -Bombay,
The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay,
The Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Bombay,
The Collector of Bombay,
All District Magistrates,
All District Judges,
All Secretaries to Government.

The Government of India have directed that no official notice should be taken in the case of Mr. Gandhi's death and that no Government Office, Court, or institution should be closed on that account. These orders should be strictly observed. As regards individual Government servants discretion is allowed to heads of offices to permit absence from duty on personal grounds on condition that there is no interference with the disposal of public business or inconvenience caused to the public.

It is requested that the orders may be kept secret. They may be communicated, discreetly and, as far as possible, orally to other heads of offices.

Bombay Special
(Sd.).....,
for R. M. MAXWELL,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part I, p. 117]

SECRET

No. S.D. 2676-7
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 19th May 1933

To

- (1) The Prothonotary and Senior Master,
High Court, Bombay.
- (2) The Registrar,
Appellate Side, High Court, Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed to forward to you for the information of the Honourable the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court, a copy of a Circular Express Letter No. S.D. 2675 of today's date issued by the Government of Bombay directing that no official notice should be taken in the case of Mr. Gandhi's death and that no Government office, Court, or institution should be closed on that account.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) B. B. CLEE,
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department,
19th May.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.) File No. 800 (40) (U)-A, p. 235]

**Extract from the Bombay Presidency Weekly Letter No. 20,
dated 20th May 1933**

M. K. Gandhi's Fast and the Untouchability Movement

Demonstrations and meetings on the occasion of Gandhi's fast occurred in nearly all the districts throughout the Presidency. Generally, little interest by the general public has been shown, and in no case did the attendance at these demonstrations exceed 500. They generally took the form of prayers for the preservation of Gandhi's life and exhortations to increase the efforts on behalf of the untouchables. However, there is no doubt that a certain stimulus has been given to the movement against untouchability. In this connection one district report is worth quoting. It runs as follows : 'Gandhi's fast appears to have given a fillip to the movement for the removal of untouchability and meetings in this connection are reported from all over the District this week. The people behind the scenes appear to be almost entirely Civil Disobedience ex-convicts so that it is very doubtful whether the movement will ever succeed in attaining to greater heights than that of

a mere political stunt, and there are undoubtedly grounds for the gravest suspicion as to the motives of those taking part in it. The idea appears to be to keep alive and to resuscitate where necessary the spirit of agitation, and to switch it on to Civil Disobedience as soon as Congress gives the word. Outside Congress circles it is doubtful whether there is any real interest in the matter.'

In Gujerat, there is an impression that Gandhi will survive and that he may be compelled to abandon the fast on the advice of his medical attendants. It is also believed that he will go to England to take part in the deliberations of the Select Committee.

Local Congressites also criticised Bose's and Patel's published condemnation of the leadership of Gandhi.

A number of sympathetic fasts are reported but those undertaking them are generally men of small importance and appear to be seeking personal notoriety.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 177]

TELEGRAM

Salipur, 24th May 1933

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Just hear Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Hyderabad Jail lost weight suffering also that he is not allowed sleep open air please wire true condition.

GANDHI
Salipur

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 179]

No. 267 of 1933

HYDERABAD CENTRAL PRISON

Dated 28th May 1933

From

The Medical Officer,
Central Prison, Hyderabad-Sind ;

To

The Superintendent,
Central Prison, Hyderabad-Sind.

Sir,

With reference to your No. 4733, dated 28th May 1934, I have the honour to report that B class prisoner No. 16662, D. B. Kalelkar was admitted to hospital for slight fever, probably Malaria on 8th May 1934, and discharged on 24th May 1934. Temperature only above 101° once.

His weight on admission to Hyderabad was 117 lbs. It is now 108 lbs. There has been a slight gain in the last week.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 3]

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. D. 3242/33-Poll.
Simla, the 25th May 1933

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

My Dear Maxwell,

As soon as Gandhi's fast is over, it would seem that there would be two obvious alternatives open to him, either to resume his efforts to open negotiations with Government, with the object of securing the release of the civil disobedience prisoners and of reviving the prestige of the Congress, or to revive civil disobedience on ground that Government have rejected his peace offer. In either event it will be of importance that local Governments should promptly and actively explain by usual methods of indirect publicity, main facts on which official policy is based. Considerable quantity of material useful for this purpose has already been forwarded to you in the Home Department *telegram (*Not enclosed). No. 1148, dated the 5th May 1933, and portions of Director of Public Information's *letter dated 18th May will also be found helpful. Precise nature of arguments put forward must necessarily depend on line taken by Gandhi—which is at present unpredictable—but Government of India suggest that good results might be obtained by preparing confidentially beforehand, for information and use of District Officers (and also, if considered suitable, of editors of pro-Government newspapers), critical analysis of statement issued by Gandhi immediately after his release on evening of 8th May — full text of which was reproduced in newspapers at time. Government of India consider that criticism of this statement should proceed along approximately following lines :—

1. It has been widely represented in nationalist press that Gandhi's statement of 8th May was sincere gesture of peace and reconciliation which Government in spirit of uncompromising hostility to Congress, and even to nationalist movement generally, contemptuously and unjustifiably rejected.

2. Essence of statement however appears to have been suggestion that as result of Congress "suspending" civil disobedience for limited period of month or six weeks Government should release all Congress prisoners.

3. Activities thus temporarily "suspended" form part of lawless and un-constitutional movement concerning which official policy has frequently been stated in unequivocal terms ; which since its commencement more than three years ago has done the country immense harm ; and which has hindered rather than helped true nationalist cause and introduction of constitutional reforms.

4. Fact that temporary suspension of this movement implies no genuine 'will to peace' or desire for co-operation on Gandhi's part is indicated by fact that he expressly declared his views about civil disobedience to have undergone no change whatever ; gave as only reason for suspension of movement fact that Congressmen during his fast would be in 'terrible state of suspense' ; suggested means whereby if movement were later resumed it might be improved ; and stated that no settlement could be arrived at while certain prominent Congressmen were in jail.

5. Value to Government of offer made in such terms and under such circumstances is *nil*, for following reasons :—

(a) Civil disobedience as a result of the policy adopted and maintained by Government since January 1932 has now manifestly failed and has practically ceased to function ; in 'suspending' it therefore Gandhi is doing little more than pressure of circumstances has done independently of him, and is demanding in return that Government should in effect confer unfettered liberty upon those who initiated movement to build up their influence again with the object of renewing it or similar activities as soon as they feel strong enough. This was precisely what happened in 1931.

(b) A peace which is to be of real value to Government would not consist merely in cessation of civil disobedience activities, but would include definite determination to substitute constitutional for unconstitutional methods. There is no reason whatever to suppose from Gandhi's statement that, if civil disobedience prisoners were to be generally released before expiry of their sentences, Congress would under his guidance co-operate in working new constitution on basis of White Paper. In absence of such cooperation only apparent result to Government in acceding to Gandhi's request would be to give Congress leaders free opportunity to consolidate their forces with object of wrecking new constitution as soon as it is introduced.

6. Argument has been frequently used in nationalist papers for last sixteen months, and has been given particularly wide prominence since Gandhi's release—that Government are bound sooner or later to 'make peace' with Congress and grant amnesty to all civil disobedience prisoners. Argument however is quite fallacious, Congress prisoners can always be released from jail on giving satisfactory assurances of future behaviour, and are in any case released in ordinary course on expiry of their sentences. As a result of such releases number of Congress prisoners has decreased steadily and satisfactorily for many months past, and there is reason to believe that in comparatively short time, owing to collapse of civil disobedience, number of Congressmen remaining in jail will be insignificant. The idea of ultimate necessity for some sort of 'truce' between Government and Congress thus has no basis in fact.

7. Meantime Government are doing nothing to prevent those Congressmen who are not in jail from resuming their part in the constitutional life of the country, if they are so disposed ; and there seemed to be a growing disposition on the part of many Congressmen to get back to constitutional courses, until Gandhi intervened with his illtimed proposals for negotiation, which are intended to prevent any such development except as a price for the release of the prisoners.

8. Finally, Gandhi's statement makes it obvious that his main object is to bring about repetition of situation that existed during early months of 1931 prior to conclusion of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact—the assumption being that Government have already forgotten the lessons that experiment taught them. His remark that, if his overtures are accepted, he will 'tender advice' to the Congress and the Government on the Political situation, suggests that he wishes to set himself up in the public eye as mediator between the organization of which he is the head and his present political adversary regarding the future use of a political weapon, namely civil disobedience, which he himself has invented. The assumption underlying this argument is absurd, and one which Government obviously could not accept. So far from Gandhi being the pacific and well-meaning mediator between two opposing forces, he is the leader of the unconstitutional movement, determined not to call it off except at his own price.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. G. HALLETT

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Home Secretary to Government of Bombay.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-A, p. 257*]

**Extract from the Bombay Presidency Weekly Letter No. 21,
dated 27th May 1933**

M. K. Gandhi's Fast and the Untouchability Movement

As a spectacular move it may be said that Mr. Gandhi's FAST HAS COMPLETELY FAILED and the general public evinced a complete lack of interest in the proceedings.

It appears from medical reports that no fears are being entertained regarding Mr. Gandhi's ability to come through his ordeal.

Meetings and other activities in furtherance of the campaign against untouchability have taken place in nearly every district but the most remarkable thing about these demonstrations is the small number of those participating; even in Ahmedabad the largest attendance at any meeting has not exceeded 400.

The impetus given to the untouchability movement by Gandhi's fast has not affected the general public and the movement continues to attract only those who are politically minded.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (3), Part IV, p. 367]

H. D. (Special)

Submitted with a draft letter to the I. G. of Prisons for approval.

2.' Raja' who is writing from Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu, is presumably C. Rajagopalachari *vide* reference in the letter to the Temple entry and untouchability bills.

3.Mr. Bowman's letter seems to bring in rather controversial matters connected with Miss Mayo's book *Mother India*. It will also be noticed that Mr. Bowman asks for Mr. Gandhis opinion ' if Miss Mayo sticks to the *truth* in this deplorable book or is she only after publicity and money '. Possibly the remark on the third page of the letter ' I admire your course ' has reference to the untouchability movement and not to the c. d. o. movement. If, as is presumed it is proposed to allow this letter to be delivered on the principle that it is unnecessary to place undue restrictions on publicly criticising a Government holding him under its custody. You will observe that I have scrupulously steered clear of any public criticism of the Government and I think that I should retain that detachment.

I would love to put Narasimhan under Dinshaw Mehta's care, but I know that you do not believe, as much as I do, if at all, in nature cure. Kaka is taking that cure at Simhagad at present and Simhagad is a very fine secluded sanatorium. It is only a few miles from Poona. If you will not send him to Simhagad you should send him to the Mysore sanatorium.

Papa was bound to improve on your reaching there. I have made my suggestion about her also.

I make one more suggestion. It is quite likely that the Bjerrums have gone to a hill-station. They are very fine people and they will gladly take Papa. Papa knows sufficient English to be able to make herself at home with the Bjerrums. Of course you know that they are stationed at Pudukottah. If you want me to, I would gladly write to them.

Love from us all,
Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) BAPU.

(2)

I am being released on the 19th May. This was dictated before receipt of yours of the 19th today. You want M. to correct your English. What a joke. Bapu anticipated you about Narasimhan. Won't you give Dinsha a trial ?

(Sd.) M.

ORIGINAL

[H. D. {Spl. Br.}, File No. 800 (40) (11)-A, p. 343]

**Extract from the Sind C. I. D. Weekly Intelligence Summary
for the week-ending 3rd June 1933**

348. *Gandhi's Fast*.—The news of the successful conclusion of Gandhi's fast on the 29th May was received (according to the Hindu Press) with joy by Hindus in Sind. Meetings are reported to have been held at Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur to celebrate this event, but the attendances 475 at Karachi, 400 at Hyderabad and 80 at Sukkur show that hardly any enthusiasm was shown.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-A, p. 305]

**Extract from the Bombay Presidency Weekly Letter No. 22,
dated 3rd June 1933**

M. K. Gandhi's Fast and the Untouchability Campaign

The successful termination of Gandhi's fast appears to have been received with indifference by the general public, in spite of strenuous efforts by the Congress to make capital out of it. In fact, many people seemed to have the impression that Gandhi's survival is not such a miraculous event as the inspired press would make it out to be. However, meetings of thanksgiving and prayer have been general throughout the Presidency combined with the opening of wells, preparation of housing schemes for untouchables, and other uplift activities.

As was to be expected the largest demonstration was held in Poona where a large procession was staged and a meeting held under the presidentship of M. S. Aney. A new feature is also reported from Belgaum where house to house canvassing in favour of the removal of untouchability has been started by Congress supporters.

These increased activities, however, seem to have aroused, in some measure, those who are opposed to the movement, and Sanatanists meetings are reported from Ahmedabad, Poona and Pandharpur. At the meeting of the Gujarat Vaishnav Sadhu Conference at Ahmedabad it was resolved to press for a statutory provision in the new constitution that the State would not interfere in religious matters. The Sanatanists of Poona have also been performing religious ceremonies and appealing to Shiva to save the Hindu religion from the disaster which is now threatening.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 181]

Have we on previous occasions answered Gandhi's inquiries about c. d. o. prisoners ?

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
6th June

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

There appears to have been no exactly similar case in the past of an enquiry about the health of a c. d. o. prisoner from Mr. Gandhi while at liberty. During his incarceration as a State prisoner, however, there were the following instances of his interesting himself in either the illness or the condition as a result of fasting of c. d. o. prisoners :—

(a) In June 1932, Mr. Gandhi addressed a telegram to H. E. the Governor of the United Provinces requesting that his (Gandhi's) son Devidas, then a c. d. o. prisoner in the Gorakhpur Jail and suffering from an attack of fever, might be removed to a healthier and more accessible place. The telegram was allowed to go and the reply of H. E. the Governor of the U. P. to the effect that he was making enquiries about the condition of Devidas was communicated to Mr. Gandhi.

(b) When Dayabhai Patel, a c. d. o. prisoner in the Yeravda Central Prison, was down with typhoid fever in November 1932, Mr. Gandhi asked that he might be permitted to send a daily report on the patient's condition to his (Dayabhai's) sister, Maniben Patel, also a prisoner in the Belgaum Central Prison, and to receive from her whatever messages she might send in reply so that he could pass them on to the patient. This request was granted as a special concession.

(c) In February 1933, when Poonamchand Ranka, a c. d. o. prisoner in the Central Provinces, went on hunger-strike as protest against the classification of c. d. o. prisoners, Mr. Gandhi wanted to send a telegram to the Home Member of the C. P. Government enquiring whether the report that Ranka was fasting was true and, if so, what was the reason. The telegram was withheld as Government considered it objectionable on the ground that it was an attempt to intervene in a matter of jail discipline.

2. As regards Mr. Gandhi's present enquiry, since the Inspector-General of Prisons has already obtained a report regarding prisoner Kalelkar's case, perhaps there would be no objection to his sending a brief reply to Mr. Gandhi in terms of the letter No. 267, dated 28th May 1934, from the Medical Officer of the Hyderabad Central Prison. At the same time, experience has shown the desirability of discouraging these requests from Mr. Gandhi from the very beginning as they have a tendency to become more frequent* and clearly the jail authorities cannot undertake to answer such enquiries at all times. It is for consideration therefore whether the Inspector-General of Prisons should be asked to so inform Mr. Gandhi when replying to him.

[Thro' H. D. (Proper)]

(Sd.) C. F. BORGES

8th June

* When any such request is granted Mr. Gandhi quotes it as precedent and demands the grant of any subsequent request of the kind of right.

(Sd.) C. F. BORGES

Mr. Gandhi's inquiry about the health of Miraben who was at the time in the Arthur Road Prison was answered through the Inspector-General of Prisons. The enquiry was addressed to Secretary.

His letter to Inspector-General of Prisons suggesting the transfer of Jamnalal Bajaj from Dhulia to Yeravda Prison on grounds of health was apparently not answered by Inspector-General of Prisons.

Secretary,

It is necessary to be cautious in opening correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, particularly about prisoners, as past experience has shown that he always regards any courtesy shown in this respect as merely deference to the right which he imagines himself to possess to interfere on behalf of any prisoner on 'humanitarian' grounds. Kalelkar is a 'B' class prisoner entitled to the usual interviews, and there must be plenty of Congressites in Hyderabad who could have supplied Mr. Gandhi with the information he desires evidently they have made a good story of it.

It is rather absurd that Government and the Inspector-General of Prisons should be invoked to satisfy the curiosity of Mr. Gandhi about a prisoner who has had a mild attack of malaria. We do not, I think, recognize Mr. Gandhi's title to receive at any time from Government information which would not be supplied to an ordinary member of the public.

The Inspector-General may perhaps be asked to deal with this enquiry according to his usual routine.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL

11th June

(Sd.) R. D. BELL

12th June

H.M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-A, p. 335]

**Extract from the Bombay Presidency Weekly Letter No. 23,
dated the 10th June 1933**

M. K. Gandhi's Fast and the Untouchability Campaign

Although the major portion of the general public took but little interest in Mr. Gandhi's fast some considerable enthusiasm was of course aroused in Congress circles. Even this, however, seems to be rapidly fizzling out, and, although, meetings and demonstrations for the removal of untouchability are reported from nearly every district, the proceedings appear to be largely formal and lifeless. The organisers of these meetings are nearly always civil disobedience convicts and the attendances are very poor.

In Ahmednagar a school which was started for the untouchables has fizzled out for want of support.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (4), Part II, p. 185]

No. S.D. 1894

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 14th June 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 7422, dated the 5th instant, with which you forwarded for disposal a copy of a telegram, dated the 24th May 1934, from Mr. M. K. Gandhi asking to be informed of the state of health of ' B' Class prisoner, D. B. Kalelkar, I am directed to state that the enquiry should be dealt with according to the usual routine in similar cases of enquiries from members of the public.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) C. F. BORGES,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part III, p. 31]

The official Bulletin issued at Pamakuti at 8-15 p.m. on 12th July 1933

The informal conference of congressmen called by Sjt. M. S. Aney, the Acting President of the Congress was held punctually at 2 p.m. at the Tilak Mandir, Poona. Sjt. Aney, who presided, opened the conference with a short speech, welcoming the delegates. He was succeeded by Mahatma Gandhi, who in a brief speech of 22 minutes placed before the conference relevant issues which he desired definite views of the delegates present. Seventeen delegates addressed the gathering expressing their views on the situation. Discussions were not complete, when the conference adjourned at 5 minutes to 7 p.m. Thursday the 13th.

One hundred and fifty delegates were present. All the Provinces were well represented. It is expected that the conference will complete its deliberations tomorrow.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part III, p. 17]

SECRET

Subject.—Informal Conference of Congress Leaders held at Poona on the 12th July 1933.

D. I. G.

The conference was announced to be held at the Tilak Memorial Hall at 2 p.m. Leaders from various provinces numbering about 150 arrived at the place of the conference at about 1-30 p.m. A large crowd of curious visitors had gathered near the gates of the Mandir mainly to have a view of the leaders as well as that of Gandhi. Gandhi and party including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mahadeobhai Desai, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi etc. arrived punctually at 2 p.m. when they were received with great acclamation by the crowd assembled outside. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya came at about 2-30 to attend the conference and he also was cheered by the crowd. The crowd swelled as time passed and by the time the conference adjourned in the evening and the leaders began to leave the Hall the crowd reached to about 5,000 who rushed into the compound of the Mandir. Gandhi with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu came out in the balcony and thanked the crowd and explained that he could not speak under medical advice. Mr. D. V. Gokhale in the Kesari office explained this to the crowd in Marathi.

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[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part III, p. 151]

SECRET

Subject.—Informal Conference of Congress Leaders held at Poona on the 12th July 1933.

Gandhi spoke in Hindi for about 22 minutes. He explained the reasons which necessitated calling the conference at Poona. He requested the delegates to sink their minor differences and unite together to work, because the time was critical. The issues that were before them for decision were whether the C. D. Movement was to be suspended, if suspended, what should be the substitute programme; whether the suspension of the movement should be permanent or whether it should be suspended in order to carry on the negotiations with Government. He was prepared to abide by the decision of the conference if it was not against his principles and requested the delegates to have frank discussions and express their opinions.

Here Y. J. Meheralli from Bombay rose and asked the President the reason. as to why Mr. N. C. Kelkar was invited to attend the conference as he was a non-congressman. Mr. Aney explained that Mr. Kelkar was a congressman and as such he was entitled to attend the conference. Mr. Gandhi here intervened and said, ' My one foot is in Parnakuti, while the other in Yeravda

Jail". He further explained that the conference was not purely meant for . suspending the C. D. Movement, but was convened for seeking advice even from non-congressmen at this critical time. So he had also invited Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Shrinivas Shastri to give his advice. He added that he was even prepared to seek co-operation with Government, but it was for them to decide the course of further policy.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 17]

Secretary's Note

As we do not know what Mr. Gandhi may do next, and pending the results of the Poona Conference District Magistrates have not been instructed how to deal with him, it may be advisable at this stage to send confidential telegrams to the C. of P., Bombay and to the D. M. of the Gujarat districts which Mr. Gandhi is most likely to visit asking them not to take any action against him without previous reference to Government. A draft is submitted.

R. M. M.

H. M.

I have added Karwar and Dharwar to the list of addressees.

A copy of the telegram should go to other D. M.'s in the Prescy. proper as an express letter.

R. D. B.

17th July

H. E. (P. S. G.),

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES

17th July 1933

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 23]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 85 of 18th July 1933

To

D. M., Bombay Suburban, Thana, Surat, Broach, Kaira and Ahmedabad.
Gandhi leaving Poona this afternoon *en route* for Ahmedabad.

BOMBAY SPECIAL :

Note.—C. of P. was informed by Secretary over the telephone.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 25]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 1691, dated the 18th July 1933

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Information which we have received points to immediate active revival of mass civil disobedience on existing programme. We should be glad of earliest possible information in possession of Bombay Government as to the plans of Gandhi and the Congress as it is important to keep all Local Governments informed so that they may be able to take action at once.

[True Copy]

(Sd.).....,
Assistant Superintendent,
Home Department (Special)
18th July 1933.

Simla :

Recd. Poona : 18-24 hours.

Recd, in S. B. : 18-40 hours.

Decoded : 18-50 hours.

Copies to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.).

H. M., H. D.

A draft reply is submitted for approval.

H.M

H. E. (P. S. G.)

R. M. M.

19th July

(Sd.) R.D.B.

19th July

(Sd.) F. H. Sykes

19th July

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 49]

CONFIDENTIAL

COLLECTOR'S BUNGALOW

Hyderabad (Sind), 19th July 1933

Subject.—Weekly confidential report on political situation.

Dear Mr. Maxwell,

If views expressed by newspapers are a true index to the gauging of the deeper currents of public opinion, then it may be said that the decision of the

Poona Conference to restart the Civil Disobedience Movement in the event of a failure to reach an understanding with Government before 1st of August is not welcomed by the intelligentsia of the Hyderabad town. The *Pratap* edited by Dwarkaprasad R. Sharma has declared itself for the withdrawal of the movement as also the *Sind Hindu*. There is no doubt but that the strain and sacrifice of the last year and a half have told heavily on the rank and file of the Congress; the generalship of the local Congress also is not particularly enthusiastic about the continuance of the fight. This, however, does not mean that the Congress will receive no support if the movement is restarted. If the Congress leaders play their cards well, there is still a possibility that the Congress movement will once again become a factor to be counted. The prevailing economic depression is capable of being exploited for Congress purposes. The educated unemployed after making a round of Government offices and business firms find a ready refuge in the Congress Camp. And lastly come the liberals. The liberals have so long fought what they call a constitutional fight. The most eminent among them have learnt by heart all the available books on constitutional law and practice. They quoted verbatim from these books at the three Round Table Conferences and are now making their last effort at the Joint Parliamentary Committee. After doing all this they, as usual, feel disappointed—many because they have got jobs and some because His Majesty's Government have not framed the federal scheme according to their taste. These liberals will again, as usual, preach the virtue of moderation and secretly egg on Mr. Gandhi to continue the fight. There is a feeling amongst a large section of these liberals that Government should now come to an understanding with the Congress.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) G. K. JOSHI

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 29]

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

19th July 1933

O PB SABARMATI 19 30

SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
HOME DEPARTMENT, POONA.

Would like whilst here see Mirabai Slade prisoner Sabarmati instead.

Weekly letter she is permitted.

Write and receive reply kindly wire reply.

GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 39]

**Extract from the Confidential Weekly Letter of the District Magistrate,
Thana, dated the 20th July 1933**

The resolution adopted by the Poona Conference as reported in the press has caused surprise to many persons; yet there is a feeling that it would have been better if the Viceroy had agreed to give an interview to Mr. Gandhi. The situation in the district, however, remains unaffected by what has happened at Poona or Simla.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 33]

**Extract from the Confidential Weekly Letter of the District Magistrate,
Bombay Suburban District, dated the 20th July 1933**

Much interest was displayed by the public, especially the Gujaratis and Dakshinis of Vile Parle, in the Congress discussion in Poona. The local Congressites are displeased with the decision of the Poona Congress Conference.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 35]

**Extract from the Confidential Weekly Letter of the District Magistrate,
Ahmedabad, dated the 20th July 1933**

Mr. Gandhi is staying at the house of Seth Ranchhodlal, a mill-agent who was sentenced for attending the Delhi session of the Congress last year. Mr. Gandhi has visited the Ashram once already and proposes going there again this evening for a prayer meeting. It is conjectured that in due course and after full publicity he will attempt something spectacular in company with a band of Ashramites, as he did in 1930. It is not improbable that he intends to force Government to seize the Ashram. That he will take the fullest advantage of his present freedom to consolidate his forces and prepare a plan of campaign which will be carried on after his arrest cannot be doubted. His practice is to hold prayer meetings and after prayers to invite questions. Last evening 150 persons were present at a 'prayer meeting' at Seth Ranchhodlal's bungalow.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 27]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 87, dated 20th July 1933

From

Bombay Special ;

To

Home, Simla.

Your telegram No. 1691 of 18th July. As you will already have seen from press statements revival of mass civil disobedience does not appear to be contemplated. Present information is that Aney's statement on policy of

Congress will be issued from Nagpur in a few days' time. Gandhi has gone to Ahmedabad to consult his followers at the Ashram and is said to be returning to Bombay on 23rd. At present there is little reliable information of his plans but a press interview suggests that he will not resume civil disobedience without notice to Government. It is possible that his tactics may include spectacular fasting but under what conditions can only be guessed at present. Government of India will be informed as soon as he gives any definite indication of his intentions.

Copy to :
H. E. (P. S. G.)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 31]

Secretary's Note

Miss Slade has been permitted to send a weekly letter to Gandhi and to receive his reply. Mr. Gandhi asks that a personal interview may be substituted on this occasion.

He may of course be intending to give her instructions about hunger striking or he may merely wish to consult her about his future programme. But even without any special object his request to see her, as one of his Ashramites, is not unnatural.

He is not certain what effect his visit might have on other c. d. o. prisoners in Ahmedabad Prison. Presumably however Miss Slade is in a separate portion of the prison and they would not see much of him.

On the whole I do not think that Mr. Gandhi, while awaiting himself of a concession granted by Government would use it himself or allow others to use it to the detriment of Government. Perhaps therefore we may wire assent and inform the Superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison, Sabarmati to that effect.

R. M. M.
20th July

I agree.
H.M.
(Sd.) R. D. B.
20th July

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 47]

Weekly Report No. 27.—There has been a noticeable change in the attitude of the *Sind Observer*, a paper very sympathetic to the Congress, which maintains that Mr. Gandhi should have unconditionally called off the new defunct civil disobedience campaign and that no other reply could have been expected from the Viceroy. The reason is, however implied when it joins in the general chorus that the recent alleged change of front on the part of the Secretary of State means a Death blow to the hopes of India and suggests that

every shade of opinion should now combine in meeting the situation. Contra-wise the *Daily Gazette* thinks that no harm would have been done if the Viceroy had seen Mr. Gandhi.

(Sd.) G. F. S. COLLINS,
District Magistrate, Karachi.

Copy to the
Commissioner in Sind.
July, 20th 1933.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 33*]

TELEGRAM

No. S. D. 3563, dated the 20th July 1933

To

M. K. Gandhi,
Ashram, Sabarmati.

Interview with Miss Slade permitted. Prison authorities informed.

Bombay Home

TELEGRAM

No. S. D. 3564, dated the 20th July 1933

To

Superintendent,
Ahmedabad Central Prison, Sabarmati.

M. K. Gandhi may be allowed special interview with prisoner Miss Slade in lieu of her weekly letter and reply.

Bombay Home.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 41*]

CONFIDENTIAL

EXPRESS LETTER

No. Weekly Summary
Poona, 21st July 1933

From
D. MACLACHLAN, Esquire, I.C.S.,
District Magistrate, Poona;
To
The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special Branch).
Sir,

The conference of the Congress leaders concluded its sitting on 14th July 1933, giving Gandhi dictatorship of the Congress with powers to negotiate with

H. E. the Viceroy and to bring about an honourable settlement which he has failed to secure by not accepting the general opinion of abandoning the C. D. Movement.

There is a feeling in Maharashtra that by doing so he has acted selfishly and not in the interest of the country or the Congress and has forced on the Congress his scheme of individual Civil Disobedience.

There is also feeling that he has by his obstinacy let down his followers who are now in jail. The feeling appears to be bitter and has been even more embittered by the reflexion that they have allowed Gandhi to jockey them into an entirely false position.

The Congress leaders of this district have lost faith in the C. D. Movement and are for taking advantage of the Reforms.

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) MACLACHLAN,
District Magistrate, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 37]

O HD AHMEDABAD 21 13

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona,
GRATEFUL PROMPT PERMISSION SEE MIRABAI.

GANDHI.

8/41.

for information.

R. M. M.

21st July.

H. M. (Sd.) R. D. B.

22nd July

H.E. (P. S. G.)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 41]

TELEGRAM

From

Dispol, Ahmedabad ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Gandhi proposes vacate Ashram August 1st on which date inmates will march out as rebels. He is writing letter to Governor today placing Ashram and all property at disposal of Government. He will probably indicate where funds are and amount thereof and invite Government to attach same. Detailed report follows by special messenger.

Addressed Crimo, Poona, repeated Bombay Special, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 31]

**Extract from the Confidential Weekly Letter of the Commissioner,
Central Division, dated the 22nd July 1933.**

The feeling in this Division is strong against Mr. Gandhi's exhibition of his influence over the majority of delegates at the Poona Conference. It is felt that he wished to assert himself and retain his dominant position at the expense of reason and the better judgment of the mass of the delegates. His action has weakened his influence in political circles in this Division and enhanced that of N. C. Kelkar. Any attempt to start C. D. O. in Poona and Maharashtra will fail.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 39-61]

Subject.—

- (1) Statements made by Mr. M. K. Gandhi since his release from jail on the 8th of May 1933 up to the end of July 1933, including his requests to H. E. for an interview.
- (2) Statement by Aney, dated the 22nd July 1933.

(1) Gandhi's Statement, dated the 8th May 1933

Gandhi stated in his interview, ' I can't regard this release with any degree of pleasure and as Sardar Vallabhbhai rightly remarked to me yesterday how can I take advantage of this release in order to prosecute the civil disobedience campaign or to guide it. This release therefore puts upon me as a seeker after truth and a man of honour a tremendous burden and a strain. This fast has to continue. I had hoped and I still hope not to excite myself over anything not to take part in any discussions of any nature whatsoever. The whole purpose of the fast will be frustrated if I allowed my brain to be occupied by any extraneous matter that is any matter outside the Harijan work. At the same time having been released I should be bound to give a little of my energies to a study of the civil disobedience movement. Of course for the moment I can only say that my views about civil disobedience have undergone no change whatsoever. I have nothing but praise for the bravery and self-sacrifice of the numerous civil resisters, but having said that I can't help saying that the secrecy that has attended the movement is fatal to its success. If therefore the movement must be continued I would urge those who are guiding the movement in different parts of the country to discard all secrecy. I do not care if thereby it becomes difficult to secure a single civil resister. There can be no doubt that fear has seized the common mass. The Ordinances have cowed them down and I am inclined to think the secret methods are largely responsible for the demoralisation. The movement of civil disobedience does not depend so much upon the quantity as on the quality of men and women taking part in it and if I was leading the movement, I should sacrifice quantity and insist on

quality. If this could be done it would immediately raise the level of the movement. Mass instructions on any other term is an impossibility. I can say nothing as to the actual campaign. The reflections I have given I had bottled up all these many months and I can say Sardar Vallabhbhai is one with me in what I have said. One word I would say whether I like it or not—during these three weeks all civil resisters will be in a state of terrible suspense. It would be better if the President of the Congress Bapuji Madhavrao Aney were to officially declare suspension for full one month or even six weeks. Now I would make an appeal to Government. If they want real peace in the land and if they feel there is no real peace, if they feel that Ordinance rule is no rule, they should take advantage of this suspension and unconditionally discharge all the civil resisters. If I survive the ordeal it will give me time to survey the situation and to tender advice both to the Congress leaders and if I may venture to do so to the Government. I would like to take up the thread at the point where I was interrupted on my return from England. If no understanding is arrived at between the Government and the Congress as a result of my effort and civil disobedience is resumed it will be open to the Government if they so choose to revive the Ordinance rule. If there is the will on the part of the Government I have no doubt that a *modus vivendi* can be found. Of this so far as I am concerned I am absolutely certain. Civil disobedience can't be withdrawn so long as so many civil resisters are imprisoned and no settlement can be arrived at so long as Sardar Vallabhbhai, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others are buried alive. Indeed to call off civil resistance is not within the power of any of the men who are out of prison. It is possible for the then Working Committee to do so. I refer to the Working Committee that was in existence at the time I was arrested. I shall say no more on the civil disobedience movement. Perhaps I have already said too much but if I was to say anything I could say so only whilst I have strength left in me. I would urge pressmen not to worry me any more. I would urge also would-be visitors once more to restrain themselves. Let them regard me as being still in prison. I shall be unfit for holding political discussions or any other discussion. I would like to be left in perfect peace and I would like to tell Government that I shall not abuse the release and if I come safely through the ordeal and I find the political atmosphere as murky as it is today without taking a single step secretly or openly in furtherance of civil disobedience I shall invite them to take me back to Yeravda to join the companions whom I almost seem to have deserted. It was a great privilege for me to have been with Sardar Vallabhbhai. I was well aware of his matchless bravery, his burning love for the country, but I have never lived with him as I had the good fortune this sixteen months. The affection with which he covered me recall to me that of my own dear mother. I never knew him to possess motherly qualities. If the slightest thing happened to me he would be out of his bed. He superintended every little detail in connection with my comforts. He and my other associates had conspired to let me do nothing and I hope that

Government will believe me when I say that he always showed a remarkable comprehension of the difficulties of the Government whenever we discussed any political problem. His solicitude for the farmers of Bardoli and Kaira I can never forget.'

(2) Telegraphic correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Private Secretary to the Viceroy regarding Mr. Gandhi's request for an interview.

Telegram dated the 15th July from Mr. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy—' Will His Excellency grant interview with a view to exploring possibilities of peace. Kindly wire.'

Telegram dated the 17th July from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi—'In reply to your telegram asking for an interview, His Excellency has directed me to say that if the circumstances were different he would have gladly seen you. But it would seem that you are opposed to withdrawing the civil disobedience movement except on conditions, and that the interview you seek with His Excellency is for the purpose of initiating negotiations with Government regarding these conditions. It also appears to have been decided that unless the Congress reaches a settlement with Government as the result of such discussions civil disobedience will be resumed on August 1.

' It is hardly necessary to remind you that the position of Government is that the civil disobedience movement is wholly unconstitutional and there will be no compromise with it, and that Government cannot enter into any negotiations for its withdrawal. On April 29, 1932, the Secretary of State in the House of Commons stated that there will be no question of making a bargain with Congress as a condition of its co-operation. The same position has been consistently maintained by Government in numerous subsequent statements. If the Congress desires to resume its position as a constitutional party and to put an end to a movement which has brought grave injury and suffering to the country the way is open to it, as it always has been, and it is within the power of the Congress to restore peace by withdrawing on its own initiative the civil disobedience movement.'

' As, however, the Congress is not willing to take that action an interview with His Excellency will meet no purpose.'

Telegram dated the 17th July from Mr. Gandhi to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy—' Your wire of even date has come upon me as a painful surprise. I had not expected that the Government would take official notice of unauthorised publication of confidential proceedings of an informal conference and on the basis thereof reject a request for an interview. If the interviews were granted, I could show that the proceedings taken as a whole were calculated to bring about honourable peace. The conference was undoubtedly favourable to peace, if it can be obtained without humiliation.

' If however, the Government hold that they cannot have any conversation even for promoting peace with a representative of an association engaged in,

activities in breach of state laws, however, repressive they may be, until that association first discontinues such activities which it believes to be in pursuance of an inherent right belonging to the human family, I can have nothing to say.'

' Nevertheless, I would like to add a personal note. My life is regulated by peaceful motives. I hanker for real peace, but I must confess that I cannot be satisfied with a make-shift. If I resort to non-co-operation or civil disobedience it is for establishing true and voluntary co-operation and obedience to laws in place of forced co-operation and forced obedience. I, therefore, hope my request for an interview will be granted.'

Telegram dated the 17th July from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi—' His Excellency had hoped that the position of the Government was plain. It is that Civil Disobedience is a movement intended to coerce the Government by means of unlawful activities, and that there can be no question of the Government holding conversations with a representative of an association which has not abandoned that movement.'

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 49]

**Statement issued by Mr. Aney, Acting President of the Congress
on the 22nd July 1933**

Having considered very carefully the recommendations of the informal conference recently held in Poona and the discussion among congressmen in the conference and outside and the advice tendered by Mahatma Gandhi, I have come to the conclusion that the best interests of the country would be served by the following instructions being carried out :—

(1)The campaign of civil disobedience should not be unconditionally withdrawn in the existing circumstances.

(2)Mass civil disobedience including no tax and no rent campaign should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities to continue civil disobedience being reserved.

(3)All those who are able and willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress organisations are expected to do so.

(4)Secret methods such as have been followed hitherto should be abandoned.

(5)All Congress organisations including the office of the A. I. C. C. should cease to exist for the time being provided however that wherever possible the line of dictators in the provinces and all-India dictators should continue.

(6)All congressmen who are unable for any reason whatsoever to offer civil resistance are expected to carry on individually or corporately such

constructive activities of the Congress for which they are fitted. I hereby appoint Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram as my successor on being imprisoned. I regret it has not been possible to call off the movement and it has become necessary for me to issue these instructions. I share with many others whether congressmen or others my disappointment that the very simple request of Mahatma Gandhi unaccompanied by any conditions for an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in order to explore possibilities of peace was summarily rejected. His Excellency very wrongly allowed himself to be influenced by the unauthorised reports of confidential proceedings of an informal conference which for the sake of furthering peace efforts were purposely held back from publication. His Excellency should have known that at that conference there was an overwhelming opinion in favour of seeking such an interview and therefore for an honourable peace. I hold it to be impossible for any congress organisation or its representative to accept the terms peremptorily laid down by His Excellency as a condition precedent to any conversation for peace. I hope that the nation will compel a revision of this attitude by developing the requisite strength at whatever cost it may be. In spite of these instructions it should be borne in mind that the suspension of the campaign up to the end of this month stands.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 {40} (11), Part II, p. 45-6]

Extract from a Secret Express Letter No. D-4871-33-Poll, dated the 22nd July 1933, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

Reference your telegram No. 87 of 20th July 1933. The Government of India, while recognising that it is very difficult to predict what line of action Gandhi will take, consider it desirable to discuss certain possible contingencies that may arise and the action which should be taken to meet them.

2. It is clear from Gandhi's statement, as reported in the Press, that mass civil disobedience, though apparently approved by the Poona Conference, is not contemplated, but that intention is to undertake individual civil disobedience at the end of the period of suspension. Mere disobedience of law by Gandhi and other individuals, though involving their conviction and imprisonment, is not likely to result in restoring Gandhi's position or in creating any increased sympathy for the movement. Rather it will give an opportunity to those Congress members who are in favour of the abandonment of civil disobedience to carry their view and to divert their activities to constitutional lines. The Government of India infer, therefore, that it is probable, as suggested in your telegram, that Gandhi will try to do something spectacular which will revive sympathy for him and for the movement generally.

3. There is yet another contingency to be considered. It is possible, that Gandhi may play a waiting game and that, as he has done in the past, he may give notice to Government that on such and such a date he will initiate

his campaign of civil disobedience. This will mean that he will gain further time for organization of his campaign, while the longer Gandhi remains at liberty after he has announced his definite intention of starting a movement directed against Government the greater may be the increase in his prestige. It might, therefore, be desirable to anticipate his action and to force the issue. This might be done by passing a restrictive order upon him which, if he is consistent with his principles he would disobey, and thus render himself liable to imprisonment. This would seem preferable to taking action against him under the Regulation.

* * * * *

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 71]

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy of D. S. P. (Pryde)'s report regarding :—

Gandhi's Movements in Ahmedabad

No. 2/73 of 1933

Ahmedabad, 23rd July 1933

Gandhi had an interview with Miss Slade at the Central Prison on July 21st. This took place in the presence of the Superintendent of the Jail and was formal.

He visited the Ashram and spent three hours there. He received a deputation of 250 untouchables on July 22nd.

He interviewed Shankerlal Banker and discussed the labour situation with him after which he met leading Congress workers.

He visited the Ashram and instructed the inmates as to what he expected of them.

Individual Satyagraha will be conducted on the following lines :—

A dictator will be appointed for each village, town and city and a list of persons who are willing to take part will be prepared. Each dictator will nominate his successor from this list. Each individual so appointed will carry on the programme of Civil Disobedience in the form most convenient to him.

For the past three days, Gandhi has used every endeavour to induce all the inmates of the Ashram to take part in the movement and thus force Government to seize it. Many are wavering and yesterday he informed them that those who did not wish to take part should leave the Ashram. It is understood that all will carry out his instructions and that a few women and children will be sent to the Ashram at Wardha.

He has issued instructions to the effect that before committing any overt act in furtherance of the movement all persons should transfer their property

to other parties and in the event of any such property being attached in lieu to fines such parties should have recourse to law.

It is understood that Gandhi and Aney will issue similar statements at one time.

Gandhi's plans are still unknown but it appears that he does not intend to leave Ahmedabad. He is prepared for arrest at any time.

The above information has been obtained from a reliable source.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 45]

Extract from a Confidential Letter No. P/IV/8-C, dated the 24th/25th July 1933, from the Commissioner in Sind.

There has been no perceptible change in the situation or in the state of public opinion since my last report was submitted. Very little interest is being displayed in the Congress deliberations at Poona. Enlightened nationalist opinion is not inclined to favour the decision to restart the civil disobedience movement in the event of a failure to reach an understanding with Government before 1st August. The *Pratap* of Hyderabad, edited by the notorious Congressman, Dwarkaprasad Rochiram, has declared itself in favour of the withdrawal of the movement, the *Sind Hindu* and the *Maha Bharat* of Hyderabad also advocate a similar policy. The *Sind Observer* writes as follows :—

' We do not advocate any heroic measures on the part of the Congress. Its political programme is but a part of a comprehensive national programme. Whatever the coming reforms, it must play its part in working them legislatively and administratively. The time is now to take stock, to consolidate the gains ; to be warned against pitfalls and failures ; to redirect the country to constructive effort and not to wage futile battles. To call a defeated host to battle before it has time to reforms, restrain and recover its morale is no good generalship. It is the work of desperate men— almost gamblers.'

Conditions in Sind despite the economic depression and unemployment, are not favourable for a successful renewal of the movement.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 85]

SECRET

Secretary, H. D.,

You will have received by special messenger copies of important letters and of the ' Statement' which Gandhi intends to issue.

This statement indicates that Gandhi adheres to his intention of carrying on his Civil Resistance policy and that he intends to lose no time about it. No doubt he feels that his personal influence which has roused a local wave of interest will quickly fade if he does not strike at once.

It is not known what steps Gandhi will take to give publicity to his 'Statement'. He may attempt to do it by a public meeting or he may have it printed at the Naujiwan Press or elsewhere. Perhaps he may do both.

I feel that it would be advisable to prevent publication if possible.

If he announces his intention of addressing a public meeting the only way to prevent him doing so is to arrest him at once. The question then will be whether he is to be dealt with under the Emergency Powers Act or under the Bombay Regulation. Upon this question I am not in a position to express an opinion though, from the purely local point of view the Regulation affords the simplest and least disturbing method.

Any publication of the 'Statement' by a press or by a duplicator should, I think, be prevented if possible by seizure of all copies and action against the persons concerned in the publication.

It appears also that Gandhi intends to stage a walk out from the Ashram at Sabarmati. The mere vacation of the Ashram if done without publicity will do no harm but Gandhi will probably try to give it all the publicity which attended the start of his March to Dandi. There appears to be no reason why Government should take any interest in the abandoned Ashram. It may be left to take care of itself. But the question is whether in case Gandhi has not made public his statement before then, he should be arrested before he is allowed to organise a spectacle of this sort. A march-out of this sort would attract large crowds and would be given a 'splash' by all the press in India and abroad. In Gujarat especially much sympathy would be excited by this apparent sacrifice to the national call. I consider that it would be necessary to arrest Gandhi and remove him quietly before he could carry out this plan.

(Sd.) GARRETT,
Acting Commissioner, N. D.
25th July 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 49]

SECRET

D. M., Ahmedabad.

No. Z/74 of 1933
Ahmedabad, 25th July 1933

P. C. and has the honour to report that Gandhi has decided to vacate the Sabarmati Ashram on August 1st when, according to Mahadev Desai, all the inmates 'will march out as rebels'. A copy of a letter, which Desai has written to C. F. Andrews is attached herewith. From this it will appear that Gandhi intends writing a letter to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay notifying his intention to abandon the Ashram and start individual Civil Disobedience with his chosen followers. What they will actually do is not definitely known. There are fifty-five persons including nineteen women but excluding

children residing at the Ashram. About nine women and all the children will be shifted at first to ' Sharda Mandir' at Ellis Bridge and later to the Ashram at Wardha in the Central Provinces. Most of the men and the women including Mrs. Gandhi will take part in the new campaign.

Duncan Greenless will be employed on constructive work for the time being and Miss Cook and Miss Spiegel will be trained in Harijan work at Wardha.

In addition to Gandhi, the following are likely to take a prominent part in individual Civil Disobedience :—

Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi—Manager of the Ashram.
 Narayan Moreshwar Khare.
 Laxmidas Purshottamdas Asar.
 Mahadev Haribhai Desai—Gandhi's Secretary.
 Valji Govindji—Formerly editor of *Young India*.
 Yeshvant Mahadev Parnekar.
 Maganlal Parbhudas Desai.

Maganlal Parbhudas Desai has been placed in charge of all publicity arrangements and it is reported that he is likely to make his headquarters at Kalol in Baroda State. He will hand over this duty to Pandurang Ganesh Deshpande who is ill at present and is in Ahmedabad. P. G. Deshpande belongs to the Vidyapith and he was responsible for the Congress campaign in Gujarat which he directed from Baroda. Gandhi has prepared a lengthy statement and this will be released today. A copy is attached herewith as the full text is not likely to be published.

Gandhi does not intend to leave Ahmedabad though many of his underlings will return to their native places in order to carry out his instructions.

(Sd.)
 D. S. P., Ahmedabad.

Copy with compliments to :—

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department (Special).
 The Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Poona.
 The Commissioner, Northern Division.
 The Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department.
 The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Northern Range.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 53 and also
 No. 800 (8)-A, p. 15]

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 51, para. 13]

Text of Gandhiji's Statement

The statement issued by Sjt. Aney closely follows the advice tendered by me at the informal conference. It does not give any reasons for the decision

taken. It was left to me to give them. This does not mean that they are necessarily the reasons that guided Sjt. Aney and all those friends who accepted my advice. They must be taken, therefore, to be solely mine.

In my opinion it would have been disastrous if, in the existing circumstances, Civil Disobedience had been altogether withdrawn. The technique of Satya-graha, as I have known it, requires continuance even by one person so long as such continuance does not defeat the ends of truth and Ahimsa. It may not be given up either because of the weakness of the people taking part in it or (which is the same thing) the seeming victory of the opponent. The greater the repression the greater the strength of a true civil resistor. The continuance of Civil Resistance, even by one person, insures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair or weakness.

But radical changes in the programme were absolutely necessary.

Sjt. Aney's instructions taboo secret methods. There is nothing inherently wrong in them. I fully admit the purity of purposes and the great cleverness of the workers in conducting the campaign by secret methods, devised to meet the situation created by repressive measures of the Government. But secrecy is repugnant to Satyagraha and hampers its progress. It has undoubtedly contributed in a great measure to the present demoralisation of the people. I know that a ban on secrecy will stop some of the activities which appeared to keep the Congress before the public eye. But this doubtful benefit will be outweighed by the certain elimination of a method which is foreign to the spirit of Satyagraha and which interferes with its efficacy.

Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement. The masses have acted bravely and suffered much wherever they (One line in the original is not readable being a carbon copy). But ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of the ordinance rule now, crystallised into statute by the so-called legislatures. The Congress as an organisation finds it increasingly difficult day by day to render them effective aid. The stoppage of secrecy would prevent even the little relief that it was possible to give them. The masses have not yet learnt to act as one man and without direction. They need more training and experience through the example of individuals.

Civil Disobedience is, therefore, to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentence in due course or through the strength of the people. On termination of their sentence they should seek reimprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all the risks attendant upon their action including uttermost penury and the loss of all their possessions, movable or immovable or physical torture such as lathi blows.

Naturally such action can only be expected from a small number, especially in the beginning. The very enumeration of the hardships is likely to frighten many people. But experience of patriots and reformers all the world over shows that nature provides us with the capacity for suffering when it is taken up in the true spirit.

It follows that such response, if it comes at all, must come in the first instance from the intelligentsia. Their example will prove infectious in the long run and pervade the whole nation resulting in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious. Moreover individuals from among the masses can certainly act even now. Only they must understand the implications of individual Civil Disobedience.

I am convinced that these men and women will represent the national spirit and the nation's determination to win independence in every sense of the term. It may be objected that the heroic suffering of a few individuals, however praiseworthy in itself, is of no practical value and cannot affect British policy. I differ from such a view. In my opinion, the seemingly long or almost interminable process adumbrated by me will in practice be found to be the shortest. For I hold that true independence, i.e. independence in term of and on behalf of the masses can be proved in India's case, to be unattainable by any other method. The method of non-violence which is an integral part of the Congress constitution, demands the course suggested by me.

It must be clear to the dullest intellect that British policy cannot change through a constitution which registers the British will and ignores the wish or the welfare of the nation. Any constitution imposed upon India by the British will, unaffected by anything done in and by India, must in the nature of things, harden and perpetuate the British policy. It can and will be changed by adequate action taken by India in the face of British repression. We must work it out ourselves. Our independence should mean the registration not of Britain's will but our will. I have suggested the only way that will forge the necessary sanction for the registration of our will, that is, the will of the dumb millions. For individual action must, in the long run, affect the masses.

Let us not forget the uniqueness of India's cause. I know of no parallel in History. In India British will is enforced through India's own men and shall I say, even women. India supplies the civilian and the soldier, India supplies money and other resources for the subjugation and exploitation of the masses. If this terribly immoral state of things is not altered in a day or even in a century, it need cause no surprise.

But our success is ensured the moment we take the right route to our goal. I claim that we took it in 1920. And though it cannot be visibly demonstrated, we have since then taken long strides towards 'Poorna Swaraj'. We could not have gone nearer the goal by any other way. Who can deny during the past thirteen years we have seen an awakening among the masses, never witnessed during the hundred years preceding September 1920 ?

My advice does not proceed from a sense of despair or defeat. I have neither. I am filled with joy that the national response has been so great as it has been. The greatest cause for joy is that the individuals as well as the masses have observed non-violence in action, inspite of themselves and in the face of almost inconceivable provocation. We are too near the time to judge the merit of the non-violence observed by the Frontier Pathans. They might have used violent language. But they have refrained from violent action in a way they have never done before within living memory. Such is the testimony of several sober independent witnesses. If non-violence becomes rooted in the Pathan heart, it will solve several difficult problems for us. What is true of the Frontier Pathans is largely true of the Civil Resisters throughout India.

I must not be misunderstood. My claim is humble. Danger of a sudden outburst of violence is always present so long as the violence of the heart is not eradicated. I am sorry to say that there is ample violence in our breasts. We have acted non-violently out of policy, out of helplessness. We would inflict violence if we would do so with effect. I would have India to abjure violence even if it had the power to wield it. I would have it appreciate the fact that if the masses are to work out their own independence, they are so numerous that if they achieved anything through violent means, it would not be independence but a fiendish thing that would devour them and perhaps bring ruination to the whole world. The one lesson that the western nation teach the world in flaming letters, is that violence is not the way to peace and happiness, The cult of violence has not made them or those who have contact with them any the happier or better. If ever we, as a nation, reach that living faith in non-violence and banish violence from our hearts we would not even need resort to civil disobedience. The latter is required whilst we are trying non-violence as a mere policy or expedient. Even as a policy it is any day far more effective than the violence. Under the Dictator's instructions secret organisations naturally disappear. Every Civil Resister will be his or her own leader. He or she will carry the burden of the Congress on his or her shoulders. Such Civil Resisters will be trustees of national honour.

Whilst Congressmen be counted by the crore, Civil Resistance, under the new scheme, will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions. Meanwhile the remaining Congressmen will engage in various other constructive activities of the Congress such as Harijan service, communal unity, Khadi production and distribution, total prohibition, boycott of foreign cloth and other goods that compete with indigenous manufacturers or any other detrimental to the interests of the nation, the manufacture of new goods, the improvement of the methods of indigenous manufacture, and in this connection development or resuscitation of village industries, improvement of agriculture and cattle breeding, organisation of labour unions,

not for political exploitation but for the betterment of the condition of workers and improvement in the relations between the capital and labour. In fact, no branch of national activity may be left untouched by the Congress. This will be possible if we will get rid of the very wrong idea that there is no other Congress activity save that Civil Resistance or that the latter blocks all other activities. This will be true, perhaps when there is mass Civil Disobedience and the campaign has to be swift and sharp. But till that time is reached, due importance must be given to every one of nation-building activities and none should be neglected. Civil Resisters represent the non-violent army of the nation. And just as every citizen cannot be civil resister on the active list. And if a soldier may not consider himself a superior being because he fights at the risk of his life for his nation much less may a Civil Resister who undergoes sufferings for the same of his nation. Those outside the rank of fighters are equally important limbs of their nation if they regard themselves as national servants dedicating talents for the nation's welfare, and not engaging in any activity private or public that may conflict with the national interest.

Moreover, whilst the Congress as an organisation cannot openly help Civil Resisters and must under any plan avoid all secret methods, it will be the duty of Congressmen and even others who sympathise with the Congress methods and aims, wherever possible to give relief to the indigent families of Civil Resisters especially to the utterly destitute peasantry who joined the no tax campaign. For they must be ensured that every inch of the land confiscated during the campaign (I think lawless and wrongly) will be returned to them or other progeny when the nation comes to her own as it must some day. I have learnt that at great personal risk to the workers engaged in the task the Congress has successfully administered secret relief to the peasants who have chosen for the sake of national freedom to risk their all. Such relief will be impossible administration in the future not merely because of the contemplated stoppage of secret methods but also because the Congress has no ceaseless source of income. The burden of reaching relief only to such families must on pure humanitarian grounds if no other, falls on the shoulders of those who are not engaged in Civil Resistance. The Government cannot have it both ways. If they will stop even private and open relief, they must imprison the dependents of Civil Resisters or otherwise maintain them. The world would be staggered to know the number of those who once in their circumstances have courted ruination and are living on doles of three or four rupees per head, per month. I understand that even their houses are in danger of being attached.

I have left the Council programme untouched. To think now of working ; of reforms to come is in my opinion altogether premature. We do not know what they are to be, when they are to come, if at all. It would behove those who are inclined to participate, to wait for the reforms before they commit themselves to a policy. Then there remain the existing legislatures. I can give no decisive opinion on this question as I can on Civil Disobedience. My

head reels at the very thought of entering Councils for the sake of winning independence. They may give some relief in specific cases but that is the miasma to keep the nation from its goal. They have no temptation for me in spite of my having sought through Sjt. Rajgopalachari and others the cooperation of the legislatures and the Government in the matter of the un-touchability bills. The primary responsibility for seeking it lies not on his shoulders but mine. I offer no apology for having sought it. It is wholly consistent with the doctrine of non-cooperation.

There is one thing on which Sjt. Aney has differed from me and some other friends. I have felt strongly that the office of All-India Dictator and Provincial Dictators should also be abolished. But he felt equally strongly that the office should be retained if only as a symbol. But I see grave difficulties in our way. Dictators under the new scheme must, like others, offer civil resistance as soon as they are appointed. All the best men and women must quickly find their way to prison. Therefore a time must soon come when men and women who can really dictate will not be available. Then there could only be dummy dictators embarrassing situations. Lastly when every civil resister is expected to be his own leader, there seems to be no warrant for having dictators. Indeed their mere existence may well stop the flow of individual civil resisters. For they may wait for Dictator's instructions whereas the new scheme provides for no further instructions. The Congress as an organisation should live in its ideal in the final instructions issued by Sjt. Aney. I, therefore, still feel that dictators should abolish themselves.

The Viceroy's refusal to see me even for the sake of exploring possibilities of peace, renders it unnecessary to examine the conditions under which even without *Poorna Swaraj* but in furtherance of it Civil Disobedience may be discontinued. But I may repeat what I have said so often that all non-cooperation is undertaken to ensure real cooperation in the place of forced one and all Civil Disobedience of laws is resorted to for the sake of rendering voluntary obedience instead of forced obedience. Therefore, I have no doubt that the Congress would be ever ready for honourable peace.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 47]

**Extract from a Confidential Telegram No. 91, dated the 26th July 1933,
to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, from
the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.**

Clear-the-line—

This is in continuation of confidential telegram No. 90, dated 25th July. Copies of special report of Dispol, Ahmedabad, with copy of statement under issue by Gandhi are sent separately by post.

2. All inmates of Ashram will not participate in new activities. In particular foreigners, male and female, will be excluded. Gandhi apparently does not intend to leave Ahmedabad immediately but other inmates numbering about ten women and thirty men will scatter.

3. Gandhi's statement makes no reference to fasting but when issued will justify his immediate restriction to Ashram and Bombay Government request approval to issue of restriction order and subsequent trial of Gandhi if order is broken. This meets suggestion in paragraph 10 of your Express Letter No. D-4871/33-Poll., dated 22nd July. Bombay Government will then take appropriate action in respect to other inmates of Ashram when suitable opportunity occurs and without further reference to Government of India.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.,) File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 89]

CONFIDENTIAL**TELEGRAM**

Dated the 26th July 1933

From

Commissioner, Northern Division, Ahmedabad ;

To

Secretary, Home Department, Poona.

Gandhi's statement has been sent to the press today. He has addressed Home Department regarding abandonment of Ashram and requested reply by telegraph. The letter will arrive 27th instant. I recommend simple acknowledgment and reply by letter. No reason for Government to take charge of Ashram.

Question whether spectacle of march from Ashram should be permitted requires consideration. If mills are closed and other public excitement aroused I would recommend Gandhi be arrested beforehand. If he does not make public demonstrations it may be better to await overt act of civil resistance.

Copy to :—

H. E. (P. S G),

H. M., H. D.

*[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II p. 97]***SECRET**

No. Z/75 of 1933

Ahmedabad, 26th July 1933

Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona

With reference to your cypher wire, dated 26th instant has the honour to report that the Ashram was handed over to a Board of the following trustees in 1926 :—

- (1) Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj.
- (2) Mahadev Haribhai Desai.
- (3) Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir.
- (4) Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi.

Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir died in 1931.

The trustees appointed a Managing Committee with Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi as Secretary. This Committee has charge of the entire

administration of the Ashram. The Ashram has a branch at Wardha which is independent only in matters of management and finance.

The object of the Ashram is ' That its members should qualify themselves for, and make a constant endeavour towards the service of the country, not inconsistent with universal good', indirectly, therefore, it may be said that it is for Congress purposes in general.

The Board of trustees as well as the members of the Committee of Management are Gandhi's chosen followers and are bound to carry out his wishes.

In reply to a question from Jaswantraï Purani, reporter of the *Free Press Journal*, Gandhi said as recently as yesterday that he was sole dictator of the Ashram and that neither the Trustees nor the members of the Committee of Management had any voice in its disposal during his life time.

Certain buildings which are on the Ashram land are owned by private individuals and possession of these will be restored to their respective owners.

Gandhi proposes to make over the entire library of the Ashram which is valued at Rs. 1,00,000 to the Ahmedabad Municipality on the distinct understanding that the public will have access to it.

Most of the moveable property will be removed from the Ashram on the night of July 31st.

Gandhi has not despatched his letter to His Excellency the Governor yet but it is reported from a reliable source that he will do so to-morrow. His statement (copy forwarded with this office No. Z/74, dated 25th July 1933), will be released this evening.

The inmates of the Ashram will go to different parts of Gujarat and commence individual Civil Disobedience.

Gandhi has not disclosed to anybody what he will actually do but his plans for the future will be included in his letter to His Excellency the Governor.

It is reported in the *Free Press Journal* that Gandhi will unveil the Tilak Memorial at Bombay on August 1st, but this appears to be incorrect. Gandhi is likely to contradict it to-night.

(Sd.) A. W. PRYDE,
D. S. P., Ahmedabad.

A. R. P.
Shown to H. M.
R. M. M., 27th July.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 143]

Ahmedabad, July 26, 1933

Dear Sir,

My first constructive act on returning to India in 1915 was to found the Satyagrah Ashram for the purpose of serving Truth. The inmates are under the vows of truth, ahimsa, celibacy, control of the palate, poverty, fearlessness, removal of untouchability, swadeshi with khadi as the centre, equal respect for all religions and bread-labour. The present site for the Ashram was bought

in 1916. It conducts today certain activities mostly through the labour of the inmates. But it does need to supplement that labour with ordinary paid labour. Its principal activities are : khadi production as a village industry without the aid of power-driven machinery, dairy, agriculture, scientific scavenging and literary education. The Ashram has 107 inmates at present (men 42, women 31, boys 12, and girls 22). The number excludes those who are in person and those who are otherwise engaged outside. Upto now it has trained nearly 1,000 persons in the manufacture of khadi. Most of these, so far as my knowledge goes, are doing useful constructive work and earning an honest livelihood.

The Ashram is a registered trust. The funds at its disposal are ear-marked. While the aim has been to make every department self-supporting, it has hitherto been obliged to receive donations from friends to meet all the obligations. Experience has shown that so long as it remains a predominantly educational service (using the term in the widest sense) and not only charges no fees, but actually feeds and clothes the learners, it cannot be wholly self-supporting.

The Ashram owns immoveable property estimated at over Rs. 3,60,000 and moveables, including cash, estimated nearly Rs. 2,00,000 (*vide* Mr. Gandhi's letter dated 26th July 1933). The Ashram takes no part in politics so-called. But it does believe in Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience as indispensable, under certain circumstances, for the observance of truth and non-violence. Hence the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930 was started by the March to Dandi of nearly eighty inmates of the Ashram.

Time has now arrived for the Ashram to make a greater sacrifice in the face of the existing situation on the one hand the growing terrorism by the Government and on the other the equally growing demoralisation among the people.

The statements that have come under my observation since the breaking of my fast show that:—

- (1) Methods of torture have been adopted by the police in various parts of India in order to cow down individual Civil Resisters.
- (2) Women have been insulted.
- (3) Free movement of people has become almost impossible.
- (4) In many parts of India village work by Congressmen has become all but impossible.
- (5) Civil Resistance prisoners have been subjected to humiliations and bodily injury in many lock-ups and prisons.
- (6) Unconscionably heavy fines have been imposed and gross irregularities committed for their recovery.
- (7) Peasants withholding revenue or rent have been punished in a manner out of all proportion to their offence, obviously with a view to terrifying them and their neighbours into subjection.

(8)The public press has been gagged,

(9)In short freedom with self-respect has become impossible throughout the length and breadth of the land.

I have no doubt that these statements will be denied or explained away in official circles. It may be that they are not free from exaggerations. But in common with many Congressmen I believe in them and therefore they are able to impel me to action.

Hence mere incarceration can bring me little satisfaction. Moreover, I quite clearly see that the vast constructive programme of the Ashram cannot be carried on with safety, unless the Ashram ceases entirely to have anything to do with the campaign. To accept such a position will be to deny its creed. Upto now I had hoped that the existence of the Ashram, side by side with the Civil Resistance of its individual members, was possible and that there was bound to be an honourable peace between the Government and the Congress in the near future, even though the Congress goal might not be immediately realised. The unfortunate rejection by His Excellency the Viceroy of the honest advance of the Congress, through me, in the interest of peace shows clearly that the Government do not seek or desire peace, they want an abject surrender by the largest and admittedly the most, if not the only popular, political organisation in the country. This is impossible so long as the Congress continues to repose confidence in its present advisers. The struggle therefore, is bound to be prolonged and calls for much greater sacrifice than the people have hitherto undergone. It follows that the greatest measure of sacrifice is to be expected of me as the author of the movement. I can, therefore, only offer that which is nearest and dearest to me and for the building up of which I and many other members of the Ashram have laboured with infinite patience and care all these eighteen years. Every head of cattle and every tree has its history and sacred associations. They are all members of a big family. What was once a barren plot of land has been turned by human endeavour into a fair-sized model garden colony. It will not be without a tear that we shall break up the family and its many activities. I have had many and prayerful conversations with the inmates and they have, men and women, unanimously approved of the proposal to give up the present activities. Those who are at all able have decided to offer individual Civil Resistance, after the suspension period is over.

It may not be superfluous to mention that the Ashram has for the past two years refused to pay revenue dues and consequently goods of considerable value have been seized and sold in respect of them. I make no complaint of the procedure. But it cannot be a matter of pleasure or profit to carry on a great institution in such precarious circumstances. I fully realise that whether a State is just or unjust and whether it is under popular or foreign control, the citizen's possessions may, at any time, be forcibly taken away from him by the State, if he comes in conflict with it. In the circumstances, it seems to me

to be simple prudence to anticipate the inevitable in a conflict which promises to be indefinitely prolonged.

But whilst it has been decided to break up the Ashram, we want everything to be used for public purpose. Therefore, unless the Government, for any reason, desire to take charge of any or all of the moveables, including cash, I propose to hand them over to those friends who will take them and use them for public benefit and in accordance with the ear-marking. Thus the Khadi stock and contents of the workshops and the weaving sheds will be handed over to the All-India Spinners' Association on whose behalf that activity has been carried on. The cows and other cattle will be handed to a representative of the Goseva Sangh on whose behalf the dairy has been conducted. The library will be handed probably to an institution that will take care of it. The monies and articles belonging to the various parties will be returned to them or kept for them by friends who will care to take charge of them.

Then there remain the land, the buildings, and the crops. I suggest that the Government take possession of these and do what they like with them. I would gladly have handed these also to friends, but I cannot be party to their paying the revenue dues. And naturally I may not hand them to fellow resisters. All, therefore, I wish is that beneficial use be made of the land, buildings and the valuable trees and crops instead of being allowed to run to waste as I see has been done in many cases.

There is a plot of land with buildings occupied by Harijan families. They have hitherto paid no rent. I have no desire to invite them to take part in Civil Resistance. They will now pay the nominal rent of one rupee per year to the trustees of the Ashram and be responsible for the revenue due on that portion.

If, for any reason, the Government decline to take possession of the property mentioned, the Ashram will still be vacated by the inmates as soon as may be, after the expiry of the suspension period, viz., 31st instant, unless the date is anticipated by the Government. I request a telegraphic reply to this letter, at least in so far as the Government's wishes regarding the moveables are concerned so as to enable me to remove them in due time, if I am to remove them at all.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
(Home Department), Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 183]

ORIGINAL

Ahmedabad, July 26, 1933

Dear Sir,

I have to correct a statement in my letter addressed to you today. On page 2, line 3, instead of ' at over Rs. 3,00,000', please read ' at nearly Rs. 2,00,000'.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

To

The Secretary,
to the Government of Bombay (Home Department), Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 185]

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Mr. Garrett's wire referred to by Secretary is at P. 195, *ante*. As will be seen Mr. Garrett recommends ' simple acknowledgement and reply by letter '. As Mr. Gandhi has asked for a reply by telegram, possibly Mr. Garrett's suggestion is that the receipt of Mr. Gandhi's letter should be merely acknowledged by telegram and a reply sent in due course by letter.

I do not think Mr. Garrett intended to recommend a telegraphic reply. Indeed I do not see why Government should take much interest in the affairs or the winding up of the Ashram more especially as it seems very doubtful whether Mr. Gandhi is entitled to give away the lands and moveables of the trust.

The letter reads rather like a ' last will and testament' and is possibly intended for publicity purposes. It is perhaps advisable to say as little as possible in reply : indeed considering the opinions expressed in parts of it, only a person of Mr. Gandhi's mentality would expect any reply at all.

If any reply is thought necessary we may perhaps acknowledge and say that so far as can be gathered from his letter Government is not concerned in what appears to be a matter for private arrangement between himself and the trustees of the Ashram.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
27th July

H. M.,

We might be a little more direct and also make no reference to the trust.

H. E. (P. S. G.),

I should acknowledge the letter and add that Government will not take any action in regard to it.

(Sd.) R. D. B.
28th July

We might acknowledge and decide later if there were any advantages in any further answer to the letter.

(Sd.) F. H. SYKES
28th July 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 75]

SECRET

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 3669, dated 27th July 1933

To

Headquarters, Southern Command, Poona.
Headquarters, Poona (I), Brigade Areas.
Headquarters, Bombay District.

It may be necessary to arrest Gandhi at any moment at Ahmedabad. His actual arrest will be communicated to you by *en elair* telegram containing single word 'TRYST'. Arrest may give rise to local excitement in Ahmedabad and Gujarat, possibly extending to Bombay.

Bombay Special

(Sd.)..... ,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 79]

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 3670, dated 27th July 1933

District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

Repeated to .

Commissioner, Northern Division.

Reference Pryde's special report No. Z/74 of July 25th, regarding Gandhi's programme of individual civil disobedience.

Question of dealing with Gandhi and those inmates of Sabarmati Ashram, both male and female, who are committed to action in furtherance of programme is at present under discussion with the Government of India. It has already been settled that as far as practicable the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act should be used in reference to the Bombay Regulation. It is probable therefore that Gandhi and his followers will be dealt with under section 4 of Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, XVI of 1932, by restriction of

their movements to the Ashram. In that event, you will have to arrange for the recording of the statements of Gandhi and others under section 4. As there will be a considerable number of orders restricting individuals to the Ashram, they should be prepared beforehand with necessary blanks to be filled in later. The simplest procedure in the case of Gandhi (and probably the other inmates later) will probably be for you to arrest him at the Ashram under section 3, record his statement under section 4 at once and follow it with restrictive order. If it becomes necessary to arrest under section 3, Gandhi or others outside the Ashram they may be taken in custody to the Ashram for the purpose of recording their statements and serving the orders under section 4. For form of order consult specimen appended to Circular No. S.D. 3193 of 26th April 1932. Suggested actual drafts will however be sent by next post after consulting the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs. If as seems likely Gandhi and/or his followers break the orders served on them he and/or they should be immediately prosecuted under section 14. Thereafter following is tentative plan of action in the event of conviction for breach of orders :—

- (a) Arrangement should be made now for Gandhi's removal to Yeravda immediately after sentence;
- (b) Male followers will be imprisoned at Nasik;
- (c) Female followers will be imprisoned at Ahmedabad Central Prison. If they fast they will be released unconditionally, as soon as danger point is reached, probably after removal to Civil Hospital.

Further instructions will be communicated to you as soon as decisions have been reached in consultation with Government of India. Commissioner, Northern Division, is being consulted whether in view of Gandhi's previous vow not to return to the Ashram which he has observed it is not objectionable to require him to reside there now and if he agrees in this view Commissioner, Northern Division, has been asked to suggest alternative orders.

Addressed to District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, repeated to Commissioner, Northern Division who is requested to get in touch with local military commander and make such dispositions as may be judged to be necessary. General Officer Commanding, Bombay District has been warned of possible excitement at Ahmedabad.

Bombay Special

(Sd.) R. M. M.

27th July

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 91]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 94, dated the 27th July 1933

From

Bombay Special, Poona;

To

Commissioner, Northern Division, Ahmedabad.

Clear-the-Line—

In event of it being necessary to pass order under section 4 restricting Gandhi's movements it may be objectionable in view of his vow to require him to return and reside in Ashram. What is your view and what restrictive order do you suggest. It is considered undesirable to use Bombay Regulation.

Drafted by Secretary and approved by H. M.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M., H. D.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 93]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 1816, dated the 27th July 1933.

From

Home, Simla;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 91, dated the 26th July.

We have seen only copy of Gandhi's statement issued last night and Aney's statement which by itself does not appear sufficient to justify restriction order. We presume that you refer to some other statement in paragraph No. 3 of your telegram. Please telegraph immediately summary of statement specifying in particular the points which justify restriction order.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.), H. M., H. D.

Despatched from Simla.....?

Received in Poona at 13-27 hrs.

Received in S. B., at 13-40 hrs.

Decoded at 13-55 hrs.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part 11, p. 95]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 95, dated 27th July 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 1816, dated 27th July. The following is principal paragraph of Gandhi's statement:—

' Civil Disobedience is, therefore, to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentence in due course or through the strength of the people. On termination of their sentence they should seek reimprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all the risks attendant upon their action including uttermost penury and the loss of all their possessions, moveable or immovable or physical torture such as lathi blows.'

The statement extends to eight typed pages and copy posted yesterday will reach you tomorrow. It has been published in the *Free Press Journal* of 27th.

Bombay Special

Copy to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M., H. D.

Issued—

(Sd.) L. T. B. 18-10 hrs.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 101]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

Dated the 27th July 1933

From

Nordicom, Ahmedabad;

To

Zusigambi, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 94 of the 27th instant. District Magistrate and I consider that restrictive measures under section 4 should not issue in the first instance. Recommend arrest under section 3 and transfer to suitable place

outside Gujarat. Order under section 4 suitable for locality selected may be then issued.

Despatched from Ahmedabad on 27th July 1933.

Received at Poona at 16-55 hrs. on 27th July 1933.

Received in S. B. at 17-10 hrs.

Decoded at 17-25 hrs.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 103]

H. D. (Special),

Secretary's Note

In view of Mr. Garrett's telegram, H. M. thinks that the alternative proposal should be made to the Government of India before they have sent a reply to our telegram of the 26th; the accompanying draft telegram is submitted for H. E.'s approval.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
27th July

H. E. (P. S. G.)

(Sd.) F. H. Sykes

27th July 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 105]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 96, dated the 27th July 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Clear-the-Line—

Reference paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 91 of the 26th July. Commissioner, Northern Division, and District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, have recommended that Gandhi should not be dealt with locally under section 4 in the first instance but that he should be arrested under section 3 and transferred to suitable place outside Gujarat before service with a restrictive order. Bombay Government see some advantage in thus dealing with him in locality free from sentimental associations and influence and in depriving Ashram inmates of his guidance. As an alternative to previous proposals therefore it is suggested that he should be removed to Poona under section 3 and there released with service of an order under section 4 restricting him locally and forbidding action in furtherance of civil disobedience. He would no doubt

feel obliged to commit breach of order and would command little local sympathy on conviction. His published statement affords an immediate ground for action on these lines and his early removal from Ahmedabad is desirable.

Bombay Special.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.) and H. M.

Issued.

(Sd.) L. T. B.

27th July 1933

21-30 hrs.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 119]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. Z/77 of 1933

Ahmedabad, 27th My 1933

District Magistrate, Ahmedabad,

P. C. and has the honour to report as under on the situation :—

CITY—

Gandhi continues to grant interviews and attend prayer meetings at Ranchhodlal's bungalow and at the Ashram. Collections are made at the prayer meetings in order to raise funds for the Harijans and small amounts are subscribed regularly. A sum of about Rs. 1,000 has been collected.

Father Elwin arrived at Ahmedabad on July 25th and stayed with Sheth Ranchhodlal Amritlal. He accompanied Gandhi whenever he went to the Ashram. He left for Bombay on July 26.

Gandhi held a private meeting of local Congress workers at Ranchhodlal's bungalow on July 24th. About fifteen persons were present including Balwantraai Parmodrai Thakore, Jivanlal Hariprasad Diwan, Hariprasad Pitamberdas Mehta, Dr. Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai, Ranchhodlal Amritlal Sheth and Mahadev Haribhai Desai. He informed them that he hoped to get 10,000 people throughout the country to take part in the new campaign.

It is understood that fifteen persons from Ahmedabad in addition to Ashramites will join him in whatever he does on August 1st. Names are not available at present.

Gandhi has written a letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department, announcing his intention of disbanding the Ashram. A copy of this letter has been obtained and is attached herewith. It is not known whether the original has been despatched.

He intends writing a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy outlining the action he proposes to take in furtherance of his programme of individual

Civil Disobedience. He refuses to disclose his plans to anybody. In a letter, dated July 25th to D. B. Kalelkar, Mahadev Haribhai Desai wrote that Gandhi had not decided how he would open his campaign. Sitla Sahai in a letter, dated July 26th to Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru stated that Gandhi contemplated something similar to his march to Dandi in 1930.

Movable property is being shifted from the Ashram.

Gandhi's statement was released on July 26th.

(Sd.) A. W. PRYDE,
D. S. P., Ahmedabad,
27th July
for information,
R. M. M.
28th July.

H. M. (Sd.).....

28th July.

H. E. (R. S. G.)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 133]

SECRET

Secretary, H. D.

Please see my telegram of today in reply to your telegram No. 94 of same date.

I discussed the question of an order restricting Gandhi's movements with the District Magistrate.

We agree that it would not be proper to order Gandhi to remain in the Ashram as it would be an unnecessary humiliation to him in view of his vow and of his letter to Government announcing his intention to abandon the Ashram.

We consider that it would be useless to order him to remain anywhere in Ahmedabad as it, would give him the opportunity which he seeks of beginning Civil Resistance by disobeying the order.

We therefore consider that it will be better to arrest him when the need arises under section 3 of the Emergency Powers Act and to transfer him while under arrest to some place outside Gujarat which may be selected by Government. In making this suggestion we are not seeking to remove an unpleasant responsibility but we consider that outside Gujarat Gandhi excites comparatively little interest and the problem of restraining his activities is much simpler.

Here in Ahmedabad he has a very larger number of visitors daily and , as long as he remains here this following will continue. His statement has been published in full in this morning's issue of the local daily, the *Sandesh*.

No doubt this statement and his announced intention of giving up the Ashram will excite further interest and sympathy among the emotional Gujaratis.

Nothing is yet known as to his intentions regarding the evacuation of the Ashram. He will probably wait for a day or two for a reply from Government and then make a formal march out with the inmates. It is impossible to say whether this march will include the City or be confined to the road from the Ashram to Ellis Bridge. If he carries out the evacuation quietly (which seems unlikely) no serious difficulty would arise but if he calls upon the Labour Union to bring out the mill-hands it would be better to arrest him beforehand. There seems no reason to give him further opportunities of playing on the feelings of the masses when he has so clearly declared his irreconcilable attitude.

Lastly I would request that no Police may be taken from Ahmedabad until the situation clears up. I mention this because 160 men were called away from Ahmedabad against the recommendation of the D. S. P. for the purpose of H. E. the Viceroy's journey.

(Sd.) J. H. GARRETT,
Commissioner, N. D.

27th July 1933

I think no further reply is necessary in view of our Express Letters of yesterday and today.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
27th July

H. M.,
(Sd.) R. D. Bell,
28th July.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 157]

SECRET

Secretary H. D.

Reference your Express Letter No. S. D. 3670, dated 27th July 1933.

The District Magistrate will reply to the above letter.

It appears probable that the number of inmates of the Ashram who will commit or announce their intention of committing acts in furtherance of the programme of Civil Resistance will not be large. The District Magistrate may be allowed to use his discretion as to the persons who should be arrested.

Secondly it does not appear proper to pass an order under section 4 of the E. P. Act ordering such persons to remain in the Ashram. If the Ashram is vacated with the consent of the Trustees or Manager these persons would be in the position of trespassers. The D. M. will therefore propose that the area should be some portion of the outskirts of Ahmedabad (including the Ashram side) instead of the Ashram itself.

As regards the concluding paragraph of your letter I am taking the necessary steps to keep in touch with the local military commander.

(Sd.) J. H. GARRETT,
Commissioner, N. D.

Shahi Baug,
28th July 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 189]

SECRET

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.P.O.X. (VI)-45
Ahmedabad, 27th July 1933

To

Secretary,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

Copy to—
Commissioner, Northern Division.

Copies of various documents emanating from the Sabarmati Ashram have been sent to Government by the District Superintendent of Police.

2.The idea of sacrificing the Ashram has been under Mr. Gandhi's consideration for a considerable time. The District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad's report No. Z/69, dated the 13th instant refers to a general impression that individual civil disobedience would be adopted and that the Ashram might be attached.

3.The Ashram is in the possession of a Board of Trustees who appointed a Managing Committee of which M. K. Gandhi is Secretary. In reply to a question on the 25th instant Mr. Gandhi stated that he was sole dictator of the Ashram and that neither the Trustees nor Committee had any voice in its disposal during his life time. Mr. Gandhi's letter, dated the 26th instant addressed to the Secretary, Home Department, cannot of course be treated as a relinquishment under the Land Revenue Code nor is such his intention. Mr. Gandhi states in paragraph 2 that the Ashram is a registered trust. The letter is for propaganda intended to embarrass Government. It is not clear what 'beneficial use' Government should make of the property. Clearly Government is not in a position to assist Mr. Gandhi in any way as to the disposal of the Ashram properties, whether moveable or immoveable. The distinction between 'friends' who should not pay revenue dues and 'Harijans' who may be remarkable, coming from Mr. Gandhi.

I think there is no doubt that all has not been well at the Ashram for a considerable time. Little practical work was being done, the moral standard was low and the conduct of affairs and of religious worship was utterly

artificial. Doubtless these facts were in large measure responsible for Mr. Gandhi's decision.

No details of the programme for the 1st August have been published but it is likely that we shall have previous intimation. It is probable that the mills may be closed for the whole or half-day unless Mr. Gandhi vetoes such a proposal. If a spectacular exit from the Ashram is intended to be staged it will be desirable in the highest degree that Mr. Gandhi and probably one or two of his principal lieutenants should be arrested beforehand. The latter might be arrested under the Emergency Powers Act, and released later. Mr. Gandhi might be detained under the old Regulation. It is not clear whether any act of Civil Disobedience is intended on the 1st proximo: on the whole this appears unlikely. It is suggested that the Ashramites will disperse to their homes or selected centres to offer individual Civil Disobedience.

Mr. Gandhi's presence 'in Ahmedabad has created unusually little stir though his meetings have been fairly well attended. I have come across no enthusiasm for the present programme and in the absence of local committees or dictators there are unlikely to be many volunteers for jail.

(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
D. M., Ahmedabad.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, pp. 27-31]

VISVA BHARATI,
Shantiniketan, Bengal
July 28, 1933

Dear Mahatmaji,

This is the copy of the message which, with very great pain and reluctance, I cabled to Sir Nripen and from which you will know how I feel about this Poona Pact. I am fully convinced that if it is accepted without modification it will be a source of perpetual communal jealousy leading to constant disturbance of peace and a fatal break in the spirit of mutual co-operation in our province.

With sincere love and reverence,
(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Cable sent to Sir Nripendranath Sircar

I remember to have sent a cable to the Prime Minister requesting him not to delay in accepting the proposal about communal awards submitted to him by Mahatmaji. At that moment a situation had been created which was extremely painful not affording us the least time or peace of mind to enable us to think quietly about the possible consequences of the Poona Pact which had been effected before my arrival, when Sapru and Jayakar had already left, with

the help of members among whom there was not a single responsible representative from Bengal. Upon the immediate settlement of this question Mahatmaji's life depended and the intolerable anxiety caused by such a crisis drove me precipitately to a commitment which I now realise as a wrong done against our country's permanent interest. Never having experience in political dealings while entertaining a great love for Mahatmaji and a complete faith in his wisdom in Indian politics I dared not wait for further consideration not heeding that justice had been sacrificed in case of Bengal. I have not the least doubt now that such an injustice will continue to cause mischief for all parties concerned keeping alive the spirit of communal conflict in our province in an intense form making peaceful Government perpetually difficult. That the ministers of the British Government should brusquely refuse to reconsider this subject of a vital importance to us while all other proposals contained in the White Paper are being freely rehandled does not surprise or hurt me too much for have they not often exultingly prophesied of the evil days when we might be left to fight the fratricidal turbulence without their aid and fail, and naturally they may lack today enthusiasm to help us in making our path too smooth towards communal reconciliation, but that the Indian members of the Conference belonging to provinces other than ours should not only remain apathetic but actively take part in aggravating Bengal's misfortune is terribly ominous presaging no good for our future history.

(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE,
SHANTINIKETAN.

First request

It would not be inconsistent with our alternative recommendation to the Government of India (i.e. in case Mr. Gandhi is not to be refused all Harijan concessions) if he were allowed *one* interview with *one* of the persons mentioned in his letter, in order to hand him manuscripts and give oral instructions.

If this is done it should be explained to Mr. Gandhi that, pending orders on his general request, this is done (only) under the rule of the said manual which allows a newly-admitted prisoner one or two interviews for the purpose of settling his private affairs (once for all), and that it cannot be repeated unless Government decide to grant him special facilities for carrying on this work.

Second request

As Dr. Tagore's letter appears to have reached Mr. Gandhi before his conviction he might be allowed to answer it, but in that case he might be informed that unless his reply is confined to a bare acknowledgement it will have to count as the fortnightly letter to which he is entitled as an 'A' class prisoner.

Third request

There is no provision for such correspondence in the rules, and I do not see how request can be granted as an additional facility. He can of course make any of the persons named the addressee of a fortnightly letter.

M. M. MAXWELL,
6th August.
H. Secretary.

H. M.

I agree in Secretary's proposals, copies of the letter and its accompaniment apparently make it the medium of messages to a host of people, and similarly for his fortnightly inward letter !)

I agree in Secretary's proposals, copies of the letter and its accompaniment and of the instructions issued should be sent to the Government of India for information in continuation of yesterday's letter. It is well that they should see, by examples, what the problem really is.

R. D. BELL,
6th August.
(H. Member).

After issue of the letters tonight, the papers should be submitted to H. E. (through P. S. G.) for information.

R. M. MAXWELL,
6th August.
(H. Secretary).

H. E. (P. S. G.)
(Sd.) F. H. Sykes,
7th August.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part 11, p. 137*]

TELEGRAM

Dated Simla, the 28th July 1933

From

Home Department;

To

Bombay Government.

Your telegrams 95 and 96, July 27th. Extract from statement contained in your telegram 95 did not occur in copy of statement which we had previously seen. We have now seen full statement which contains other objectionable passages particularly in regard to sufferings of Gujarat peasants and necessity of restoring their lands. We understand that position of Government of Bombay is that statement as a whole does set forth—though in general terms—

a programme of individual civil disobedience and urging its adoption thus justifying Government in taking action and that at the same time it is desirable on account of local activities at Ahmedabad that Gandhi should be removed from there.

Position in Presidency : Bombay Government consider it matter of urgency to force issue against Gandhi immediately. So far as concerns India as a whole it would seem definitely preferable to wait a few days. Gandhi's programme and leadership are being widely attacked in Nationalist newspapers. This is a development very useful to us as preliminary to his incarceration. If he commits overt acts of civil disobedience there will be little occasion for reaction of feeling against Government when he is dealt with. On the other hand action by Government in advance of overt acts by Gandhi might be regarded as premature and therefore rouse some sympathy for him. As we understand position Gandhi will be bound not later than August 1st to commit some overt act or at least to make a more definite announcement of his intentions than is contained in present statement. We consider there would be very definite political advantage in deferring action until this happens.

Please telegraph views of Bombay Government on these considerations.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 141]

The draft telegram as amended in ink has been approved for issue by H. M. and H. E.

Note that it will be repeated to the Secretary of State, prefixed ' Most Immediate '. The instructions are that the ' repeat' to the Secretary of State should be despatched first (i.e. before the original message to the Government of India) if that is possible.

Of the duplicate copies of the draft, one should be sent to P. S. G. at once and two to Mr. E. C. Thieville, P. S. V., after incorporating the ink amendments in all the copies sent.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

29th July.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 187]

No. S.D. 3701

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 28th July 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,
Ahmedabad.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter of 26th July 1933.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) R. M. M.,

25th July.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

This is a most interesting letter. A copy of Mr. Gandhi's letter and of our acknowledgement may be sent to the Government of India together with a copy of pages 2, 3, 4 and 6 of the D. M.'s letter.

(Sd.) R. M. M.

28th July.

H. M.,
(Sd.) R. D. B.
28th July.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 159]

SECRET

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.P.O. X. (VI) 46,
Ahmedabad, 28th July 1933

To

The Secretary,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

Copy to—

Commissioner, Northern Division.

Reference Government No. S.D. 3670, dated 27th July. Pryde and I are of opinion that Gandhi, Mahadev Desai and Narandas Gandhi should be arrested under section 3 on the night of the 30th instant. Mahadev wields great influence in Gujarat while Narandas, as Secretary of the Ashram Managing Committee may be expected to have much influence over the Ashramites. It is considered that Gandhi should be immediately transferred to a jail outside Gujarat and then served with an order under section 4. Mahadev should be similarly treated as his influence in the local jail would be dangerous. Narandas after a suitable period of detention under section 3 in Sabarmati Jail might be released locally and served with an order restricting him to Ahmedabad City and neighbourhood on the right bank of the river. Provided action is taken

as suggested above, Pryde and I are confident that the situation can be adequately dealt with under section 53 of the District Police Act and section 3 of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932. The bulk of the Ashramites are of no importance whatsoever and it is probable that a considerable proportion of them have been detailed for Harijan work and have no intention of breaking the law. If members of this class are arrested under section 3 and served with orders under section 4 it is improbable that they will exculpate themselves in their statements under sections 3 and 4 so that there will be no alternative but to sending them to jail.

Gandhi and Mahadev are not staying at the Ashram. Gandhi will claim that from the 1st proximo the Ashram is no longer in his possession or in the possession of the trustee. It will be open to the Ashramites to assert that they have been ordered by the landlord to clear out and that by remaining there they will be committing trespass. In these circumstances orders under section 4 restricting inmates to the Ashram would be unsuitable.

If Government are unable to accept the above view regarding action and decide that restrictive orders on a wide scale should issue, then it is suggested that the movements of the individuals concerned should be restricted to the Ellis Bridge Town Planning Area and the limits of the revenue village of Wadaj on the right bank of the Sabarmati River. It must be pointed out, however, that such an order in the case of Gandhi would lend itself to infringement in a most spectacular manner. The river bed would be at his disposal and he could cross within the view of the bulk of the population of the City at a time and date to be selected by him. I am unable to suggest any other type of order which would not appear petty and vindictive.

We have no indication of the programme for the 1st and, so far as Press Correspondents can gather, Gandhi has not yet formed any plans. It is not unlikely, however, that offences falling under sections 4 and 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act XXIII of 1932 will be attempted. It is therefore requested that a notification applying these sections to this District should be held ready for issue on receipt of a telegraphic request. Hitherto such offences have been dealt with under the District Police Act and section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. In view of the dissolution of all Congress Committees it is doubtful now if conviction under the latter Act could be obtained.

J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 143]

No. 97, dated 29th July 1933

From
Bombay Special;
To
Home, Simla.

Clear-the-Line—

This should be prefixed.

' Most immediate '.

Repeated to Secretary of State, London.

Your telegram No. R. of 28th July. View of Bombay Government is that statement issued by Gandhi contains direct incitements to Civil Disobedience and affords ample ground for immediate action against him, such as would inevitably have been taken against any other individual in similar circumstances. It is therefore extremely difficult to ignore without appearing to depart from policy hitherto followed in order to make exception in favour of Gandhi. Following are extracts from the statement which confirms this view :—

' In my opinion it would have been disastrous if, in the existing circumstances, Civil Disobedience had been altogether withdrawn * * * * * The continuance of Civil Resistance even by one person insures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair or weakness. * * * *

Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement* * * * * But ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of the ordinance rule now, crystallised into statute by the so-called legislatures. * * * Civil Disobedience, is therefore, to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentence in due course or through the strength of the people. On termination of their sentence, they should seek reimprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all the risks attendant upon their action including uttermost penury and the loss of all their possessions, moveable or immoveable or physical torture such as lathi blows. * * * * *

Our independence should mean the registration not of Britain's will but our will.

Whilst Congressmen may be counted by the crore, Civil Resistance, under the new scheme, will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions. * * * * *

It will be the duty of Congressmen and even others who sympathise with the Congress methods and aims, wherever possible to give relief to the indigent families of Civil resisters especially to the utterly destitute peasantry who joined the no tax campaign. For they must be ensured that every inch of the land confiscated during the campaign (I think lawless and wrongly)

will be returned to them or their progeny when the nation comes to her own as it must someday.'

2. Government of India appear to expect some overt act or definite announcement in near future which would afford better ground of action. While however Gandhi's intentions if not arrested are not yet known, it is difficult to see what overt act of civil disobedience is immediately open to him and Bombay Government consider it unlikely that Gandhi will break either substantially or symbolically any ordinary law in the near future. It is more probable that such act would be committed as the climax of a period of preparation and propaganda which would seriously underline the position in Gujarat, where Gandhi's personal influence should not be underrated. He appears to have stated to the press that he would not commit such an act without informing Government but this does not necessarily mean a definite statement in near future and if he issues any further statement on August 1st it may be no more definite and is hardly likely to afford better ground of action than that already published. The indications are that he will begin his campaign with the spectacular abandonment of the Ashram by his most devoted followers who will become homeless and visible objects of local sympathy and benevolence. Local sentiment will thus be excited. The former owners of lands in Gujarat forfeited in 1930-31 in the no-rent campaign will be among the first to be stirred up thus creating apprehension among the purchasers of these lands and other loyalists. By such methods the opportunities for propaganda against Government will grow. It is significant that whatever the details of the new movement may prove to be information has been received that the head of its publicity arrangements will establish himself at the outset in Baroda territory. There is no likelihood that if Gandhi is left alone his campaign will be killed by ridicule. On the contrary feeling in his favour will increase in Gujarat and the history of the Dandi march will be repeated though probably not on the same scale.

3. The Bombay Government are strongly averse from using their special emergency legislation against the residents in the Ashram or other followers of Gandhi unless Gandhi is similarly dealt with either in advance or simultaneously. The experience of 1930 showed that to punish his followers while leaving Gandhi at large will merely fan agitation.

4. No better opportunity of stopping the recrudescence of the C.D.O. movement under Gandhi's personal leadership may occur for weeks and if Government await an overt act of civil disobedience in the sense of a breach of the ordinary law they will probably be forced ultimately to take action on no stronger a case than now exists. It will then be difficult to justify the delay that will occur if the agitation does in fact revive.

5. Bombay Government do not anticipate any marked public reaction in this Presidency if Gandhi were arrested at once under section 3, Bombay

Special (Emergency) Powers Act, and thereafter released with service of restrictive order under section.

6. This procedure is well known and its use is unlikely to surprise or shock the public. Most probably bulk of Congressites and general public would welcome this procedure as getting Gandhi finally out of the way, and position could not be stronger in this regard than it is at the present moment. Local officers in Ahmedabad with previous experience of Gujarati reactions are strongly opposed to allowing Gandhi's spectacular exit from Ashram to take place and in the considered opinion of Bombay Government to permit it to happen as planned would involve an immediate and serious loss of ground. Bombay Government therefore strongly recommend Gandhi's arrest not later than 31st instant.

Bombay Special
(Sd.) R. M. M.
29th July

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part 11, p. 161]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

Dated the 29th July 1933

From

The Collector,
Ahmedabad ;

To

The Secretary,
Home Department, Poona.

Moveable property is being removed from Ashram which further complicates Government. Alternative area suggested in my letter yesterday includes Ashram.

Received at 16-20 hrs.

Decoded at 16-30 hrs.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 163]

SECRET

IMMEDIATE

**Orders for the transport to Yeravda from Ahmedabad of M. K.
Gandhi in the event of his arrest.**

In view of the probable arrest within the next two or three days of M. K. Gandhi the following instructions are issued for the guidance of the officers

concerned in order that the arrest and subsequent conveyance to Yeravda Jail may be carried out with the least amount of publicity possible :—

(1) On receipt of orders for arrest, the D.S.P., Ahmedabad, will personally carry them out in as secret a manner as possible.

(2) The D.S.P., Ahmedabad, will convey the prisoner to Barejadi Railway Station by car, and will arrange with the Railway authorities for the Gujarat Mail, by which the prisoner will travel, to be stopped at this station.

(3) At Barejadi Railway Station the D.S.P. will hand over the prisoner to an escort consisting of Inspector Lickfold, Railway Police Inspector, Ahmedabad, one specially selected Sergeant of the Ahmedabad Police, together with one Head Constable and three Constables (Armed) of the Ahmedabad Police. These men should be specially selected for their reliability and intelligence.

(4) The D.S.P. should arrange to reserve a second class compartment on the Gujarat Mail in which the Inspector, Sergeant and prisoner should travel. The rest of the escort may travel in another carriage at the discretion of the Inspector-in-charge. The D.S.P., Ahmedabad should keep in touch with the Railway Inspector to ensure that there is no hitch in the arrangements.

(5) The Superintendent of Police, B.S.D., should arrange with the Railway authorities to stop the Gujarat Mail in which the prisoner is travelling at Santa Cruz Railway Station. This will be at about 6 a.m.

(6) The prisoner will be taken out of the train at Santa Cruz Station.

(7) The D.S.P., Poona, on receipt of intimation will despatch immediately two large powerful cars, together with Mr. Condon, D.S.P., Poona, and an escort of one Head Constable and three Constables. Mr. Condon will report himself to the Superintendent of Police, B.S.D., and will take charge of the prisoner at Santa Cruz Railway Station. The Superintendent of Police, B.S.D., should be present at the time, and personally meet the prisoner, and see that he starts on his journey to Poona with as little delay as is practicable.

(8) Mr. Condon, who will be in-charge of prisoner until he is safely lodged in Yeravda Jail, will travel with prisoner and escort, in the two cars from Santa Cruz to Poona. Once the main Bombay-Poona Road is reached this will be followed until the Harris Bridge is reached, when the first turning to the left will be taken, then via Elphinstone Road over Holkar's Bridge, and then left along the New Alandi Road and either across or to the North of the Golf Links, as circumstances may advise.

(9) Mr. Condon will arrange that suitable 'purdah' arrangements are made so that the identity of the prisoner may not be divulged when passing

through town or villages. Halts for refreshments etc., should be made in isolated spots and off the main road.

(10) The Superintendent of Police, B.S.D., will arrange for food and water for the escort and prisoner. The latter will require a few oranges, some goat's milk and some raisins—he prefers Morton's.

(11) The escort will carry arms, side-arms, and ten rounds of ammunition per man. The men's belts, with side arms and ammunition, and their arms should be stowed in the cars in which they travel, so as to be concealed, yet handy. The escort and Mr. Condon will travel in plain clothes to prevent exciting attention. Mr. Condon will carry his revolver with him.

The same orders are applicable in regard to the escort from Ahmedabad to Santa Cruz.

(12) *Liaison*.—As soon as it is known with certainty when the prisoner will leave Barejadi, the D.S.P., Ahmedabad, will wire, Special Police, *en clair* to Superintendent of Police, B.S.D., and the D.S.P., Poona.....'Arriving Kathiawar Express on.....'Although *Kathiawar Express* is mentioned, the prisoner will travel by the Gujarat Mail, and the date given in the telegram should be the actual date plus two. If, for instance, the prisoner is to arrive in Santa Cruz on 2nd August, the date quoted in the telegram will be 4th August. The misquoting of the train and date will make for safety. Arrangements can then be put in train at once, as detailed in these orders.

Mr. Condon should, if possible, arrange to report himself to the S.P., B.S.D., the night before prisoner's arrival at Santa Cruz.

Immediately the prisoner has left Santa Cruz, the S.P., B.S.D., will wire, Special Police to 'Police ' Poona.....' Started.....hours'. After he has handed the prisoner over at the Yeravda Central Prison, Mr. Condon will report personally as quickly as possible to the I.G.P. so that Government may be informed.

It is essential that all the arrangements should be carried out as secretly as possible.

(Sd.),

for Inspector-General of Police.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 57-58, para. 22]

**Extract from the telegram from the Government of Bombay,
No. 98, dated the 30th July 1933**

Following telegram has just been received from Gandhi :—

'Hope to vacate Ashram Tuesday morning and if free march with companions in easy stages immediate destination being Ras with view to

tender sympathy to villages most hit. No desire to invite villagers to mass civil disobedience but individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience on terms of Congress resolution. Will give talks villagers on teetotalism, liquor dealers leaving liquor trade, foreign-cloth dealers dealing exclusively in Khaddar and all otherwise go through Congress constructive programme. Hindus will be asked to shed untouchability. Self and companions will march pieceless and depend on villagers feeding us. In the event of my earlier arrest companions thirty-two in number including sixteen women will take up march.'

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 197]

TELEGRAM

No. 1858, dated the 30th July 1933

From

Home, Simla;

To

Secretary of State, London.

Repeated to :—

(1) P. S. V., Poona.

(2) Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Reference Bombay telegram No. 97, dated July 29th. We fully agree in the circumstances described by Bombay that the action they recommend should be taken against Gandhi not later than 31st July, and trust you will be able to communicate your approval at once sending a copy of your telegram direct to the Bombay Government at Poona. Had full case as now stated been placed before us earlier we should have had no hesitation in supporting Bombay's proposals. In our letter, dated 22nd to Bombay see our telegram 1825 July 27th.

We specially referred to danger of Gandhi playing a waiting game and desirability in that case of taking initiative by issue of a restrictive order. Present telegram makes it sufficiently clear that in fact that is Gandhi's policy and we entirely agree with Bombay Government as to the danger of allowing this policy to develop.

We think grounds for action on basis of statement are ample and that there is general expectation that Gandhi must be arrested shortly public reactions in India generally will not be such as need cause us to hesitate.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M., H. D.

Assistant Superintendent,
 (H. D. Special),
 30th July 1933.
 1st Part received at 14-48 hrs.
 1st Part received in S. B. at 15-15 hrs.
 2nd Part received at 18-8 hours.
 2nd Part received in S. B. at 18-20 hrs.
 1st Part decoded at 15-35 hrs.
 2nd Part decoded at 18-45 hrs.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 201]

TELEGRAM

No. 98, dated the 30th July 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Clear-the-Line—

Repeated to :—

Secretary of State, London (Most Immediate).

Reference your telegram No. 1858 of 30th July. Following telegram has just been received from Gandhi :—

' Hope vacate Ashram Tuesday morning and if free march with companions in easy stages immediate destination being Ras with view tender sympathy villages most hit. No desire invite villagers mass civil disobedience but individuals will be invited offer civil disobedience terms Congress resolution. Will give talks villagers on the teetotalism, liquor dealer leave liquor trade, foreign cloth dealers deal exclusively Khaddar and all otherwise go through Congress constructive programme. Hindus will be asked shed untouchability. Self and companions will march piceless and depend upon villagers feeding us Stop In event my earlier arrest companions thirty-two in number including sixteen women will take up march.'

This confirms the view taken in Bombay Government's telegram No. 97 of 29th July.

Bombay Special

Copies to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 203]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

Dated the 30th July 1933

From

Collector, Ahmedabad;

To

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Immediate orders regarding Gandhi's arrest requested by "clear-line" telegram. Arrest any time after dawn tomorrow will present considerable local difficulties. Request permission to arrest tonight three [(a.m.?) Group or groups apparently omitted)] propose detaining tomorrow in Central Jail and despatch tomorrow night in accordance with instructions of Inspector-General of Police to the District Superintendent of Police. Modifications in scheme of Inspector-General of Police probably necessary this end, but arrival at Santa Cruz will be as proposed by Inspector-General of Police. Suggest arrest tomorrow same law all others taking part in march. Question of orders section 4 might be considered later. Commissioner of Revenue and District Superintendents of Police concur in these proposals.

Despatched, Ahmedabad, 22-45 hrs., 30th July.

Received, Poona, 23-27 hrs., 30th July.

Received, in S. B. 23-55 hrs., 30th July.

Decoded, 0-35 hrs., 31st July.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M., H. D.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 205]

Secretary's Note

This telegram reached me at about 2-45 a.m. today. I got through to Mr. Irwin on the telephone and asked the nature of the local difficulties. Communication was difficult but I understood him to say that Gandhi will be engaged all day today in holding prayer meetings attended by large crowds: whether at the Ashram or in Ahmedabad was not clear.

I explained to Mr. Irwin that we were still awaiting a reply from the Secretary of State. He then said that the matter was 'not vital'. I told him that he would probably get orders today, and that if the arrest could not be

made in time to send Gandhi by tonight's mail he could be kept in Sabarmati Jail for one day and sent the next night. He seemed quite satisfied.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
31st July

H. M.
H. E.
(F. H. Sykes).
31st July.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part p. 213]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 1860, dated the 30th July 1933

From

Home, Simla;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

We suggest that when action is taken against Gandhi statement on the following lines should be issued by you :—

Begins.—Mr. Gandhi has recently engaged himself in active incitements directed to continuance and revival of civil disobedience through action of individuals. These incitements are particularly dangerous in Gujarat. The Government of Bombay have therefore found it necessary to direct arrest of Mr. Gandhi under section 3 of Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1932. Their intention is to remove him to Poona and there release him and then take action under section 4 of Act with a view to restricting his movements and forbidding action in furtherance of civil disobedience. *Ends.*

Please telegraph if you agree to statement or have any modifications to suggest and give copy of this telegram and of your reply to Private Secretary to Viceroy.

Despatched from Simla at (?) hrs.

Received in Poona at 16-30 hrs. on 20th July 1933.

Received in S. B. at 16-40 hrs. on 30th July 1933.

Decoded at 17-15 hrs.

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H.M..P. S.V.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 217]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM (STATE)

No. 100, dated 31st July 1933

To

Home, Simla.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 1860 dated 30th July. Bombay Government consider it very undesirable to announce any intentions regarding Gandhi and prefer to announce arrest after event and further action under section 4 in due course. They also would prefer to postpone statement of reasons as it seems necessary that these should be given at length. If short statement is considered necessary in announcing arrest it may be as follows :—

' Mr. Gandhi has recently engaged himself in active incitements to continuance and intensification of civil disobedience through action of individuals and in pursuance thereof has informed Government of his intention after vacating his Ashram to march with his companions to the village of Ras in Kaira district where individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of the Congress Resolution. The Government of Bombay have therefore found it necessary to direct arrest of Mr. Gandhi under section 3 of Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1932. A full statement of the course of events which has led up to this action and an explanation of Government's reasons for it will be published shortly'.

The full statement referred to in this short announcement will be telegraphed for your prior approval as soon as ready.

Bombay Special

Copies to :

H. E. (P. S. G.),

H. M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40), (14), pp. 59-60, para. 26(a)]

**Telegram, from Associated, Ahmedabad to Associated, Simla, dated the
30th July 1933.**

* * * *

To

The Secretary,

Government of Bombay (Home Department), Poona,

Ahmedabad, July 26, 1933

Dear Sir,

My first constructive Act on returning to India in 1915 was to found Satyagraha Ashram for purpose of serving truth. Inmates are under vows of truth, Ahimsa, celibacy, control of palate, poverty, fearlessness, removal untouchability, Swadeshi with Khadi as centre, equal respect for all religions

and bread labour. Present site for Ashram was bought in 1916. It conducts today certain activities mostly through labour of inmates. But it does need to supplement that labour with ordinary, paid labour. Its principal activities are Khadi production as village industry without aid of power driven machinery, dairy, agriculture, scientific scavenging and ordinary education. Ashram has 107 inmates at present (men 42, women 31, boys 12 and girls 22), this number excludes those who are in prison and those who are otherwise engaged outside. Up to now it has trained nearly 1,000 persons in manufacture of Khadi. Most of these so far as my knowledge goes are doing useful constructive works and earning honest livelihood. Ashram is registered trust. Funds at its disposal are ear-marked. Whilst aim has been to make every department self-supporting it has hitherto been obliged to receive donations from friends to meet all obligations. Experience has shown that so long as it remains predominantly educational service using term in widest sense and not only charges no fees but actually feeds and clothes learners it cannot be wholly self-supporting. Ashram owns immovable property estimated at over Rs. 3,60,000 and movables including cash estimated at over Rs. 3,00,000. Ashram takes no part in politics so-called. Time has now arrived for Ashram to make greater sacrifice in face of existing situation on one hand growing terrorism by Government and on other equally growing demoralisation among people. Statements that have come under my observation since breaking of my fast show that (1) methods of torture been adopted by police in various parts of India in order to cow down individual civil resisters, (2) women have been insulted, (3) free movement of the people has become impossible, (4) in many parts of India village work by congressmen has become all but impossible, (5) civil resistance prisoners have been subjected to humiliations and bodily injury in many lockups and prisons, (6) unconscionably heavy fines have been imposed and gross irregularities committed for their recovery, (7) peasants withholding revenue or rent have been punished in manner out of all proportion to their offence obviously with view to terrifying them and their neighbours into subjection, (8) public press has been gagged, (9) in short freedom with self-respect has become impossible throughout length and breadth of land. I have no doubt that these statements will be denied or explained away in official circles. It may be that they are not free from exaggerations but in common with many Congressmen I believe in them and therefore they are able to impel me to action. Hence mere incarceration can bring me little satisfaction. Moreover I quite clearly see that vast constructive programme of Ashram cannot be carried on with safety unless Ashram ceases entirely to have anything to do with campaign. To accept such position will be to deny its creed. Up to now I had hoped that existence of Ashram side by side with civil resistance or its individual members was possible and that there was bound to be honourable peace between Government and Congress in near future even though congress goal might not be immediately realised. Unfortunate rejection by His Excellency Viceroy of

honest advance of Congress through me in interest of peace shows clearly that Government do not seek or desire peace. They want abject surrender by largest and admittedly most if not only popular political organization in country. This is impossible so long as Congress continues to repose confidence in its present advisers. Struggle therefore is bound to be prolonged and calls for much greater sacrifice than people have hitherto undergone. It follows that greatest measure of sacrifice is to be expected of me as author of movement. I can therefore only offer that which is nearest and dearest to me and for building up of which I and many other members of Ashram have laboured with infinite patience and care all these eighteen years. Every head of cattle and every tree has its history and sacred associations. They are all members of big family. What was only barren plot of land has been turned by human endeavour into fair sized model garden colony. It will not be without tear that we shall break up family and its many activities. I have had many and prayerful conversations with inmates and they have as men and women unanimously approved of proposal to give up present activities. It may be superfluous to mention that Ashram has for past two years refused to pay revenue dues and consequently goods of considerable value have been seized and sold in respect of them. I make no complaint of procedure. But it cannot be matter of pleasure or profit to carry on great institution in such precarious circumstances. I fully realise that whether State is just or unjust and whether it is under popular or foreign control citizens possessions may at any time be forcibly taken away from him by State if he comes in conflict with it. In circumstances it seems to me to be simple prudence to anticipate inevitable in conflict which promises to be indefinitely prolonged; but whilst it has been decided to break up Ashram we want everything to be used for public purpose. Therefore unless Government for any reason desire to take charge of any or all of moveables including cash I propose to hand them over to those friends who will take them and use them, for public benefit and in accordance with earmarking : thus Khadi stock and contents or workshop and weaving sheds will be handed over to All-India Spinners Association on whose behalf that activity has been carried on. Cows and other cattle will be handed to representative of Goseva Sangh on whose behalf dairy has been conducted; library will be handed probably to institution that will take care of it. Monies and articles belonging to various parties will be returned to them or kept for them by friends who will care to take charge of them. Then there remain land, buildings and crops. I suggest that Government take possession of these and do what they like with them. I would gladly have handed these also to friends but I cannot be party to their paying revenue dues and naturally I may not hand them to fellow resisters. All therefore I wish is that beneficial use be made of land, buildings, and valuable trees and crops instead of being allowed to run to waste as I see has been done in many cases. There is plot of land with building occupied by Harijan families. They have hitherto paid no rent. I have no desire to invite them to take part in civil resistance.

They will not pay nominal rent of one rupee per year to trustees of Ashram and be responsible for revenue due on that portion. If for any reason Government decline to take possession of property mentioned Ashram will still be vacated by inmates as soon as may be after expiry of suspension period, viz., 31st instant, unless date is anticipated by Government. I request telegraphic reply to this letter at least in so far as Government wishes regarding moveables are concerned so as to enable me to remove them in due time if I am to remove them at all.

I am yours faithfully,

(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 61 para. 26 (b)]

Copy of Letter received from Mr. R. M. Maxwell, Secretary to the Government of Bombay (Home Department), to M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter of 26th July 1933.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
(Home Department).

In course of appeal addressed to people of Gujarat Gandhi states : ' On Tuesday morning I propose God willing march from Ashram with 33 companions some of these will be even physically weaker than I, for there are nearly as many women with me this time as men ; but I could not resist their desire sacrifice themselves. It was to them call. They could not resist. We hope and pray that God will help us carry out our pledge. Our immediate destination is Ras. In case we are allowed reach there we shall proceed there, but it is quite likely that we may all be arrested as we proceed on march. If we are not so arrested, is our plan carry message fearlessness to every village home. Let me set out in brief what we shall expect of the villages we visit. We will not have a copper on us. We shall cheerfully and thankfully accept what humble fare villagers offer us. Coarsest fare lovingly served will mean to us choicest treat. As this is rainy season we shall be thankful to be put up in cottage having roof and we shall march by easy stages as many amongst us are not physically strong and our programme will not be rigid. We shall halt whenever our legs cannot carry us further but we don't propose spend more than single night at one place. It is possible that Government may take me before Tuesday. Even then march will continue so long as there is any marcher left free. I am confident that the sacrifice that we are

offering is pure. It will generate power of non-violence that will put us in reach of Swaraj that millions of us are pining for.'

In course of statement issued tonight Gandhi says : On eve of what is to me act greater dedication than perhaps ever before I would like urge all Congressmen not fritter away their energy in debating over decision acting President. I reiterate my opinion that decision was only right course to take in my opinion. It is also constitutional. I would urge every Congressman to study my statement carefully and it will be found that if programme is zealously worked out Congress will become much more powerful organization that it has ever been. To Englishmen whether belonging to services or other I would say if you want peace in land and real friendship with India ordinance rule is not way. That of Congress is only way. I say this as friend of English people. Some of you may regard me today as your enemy. I make bold prophecy that day will come when mists will have rolled away and you will admit my claim.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 209]

CONFIDENTIAL

'R' TELEGRAM

From

Secretary of State, London;

To

(1) Government of India, Home Department.

(2) Government of Bombay, Ganeshkhind.

Despatched on 30th July 1933 at 23-20 hrs.

Received on 31st July 1933 at 5-40 hrs.

Most immediate.

Addressed to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1887; repeated to the Government of Bombay No. 1888.

Your telegram of the 30th July, No. 1858. Gandhi. In view of the Government of Bombay's telegram No. 98, dated the 30th July, I agree to the arrest of Gandhi and removal from Ahmedabad. His followers will, I presume, also be arrested and imprisoned at Ahmedabad and Nasik.

I presume you will issue a statement publishing Gandhi's telegram and emphasising the dangerous implications of his plan of campaign.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 211]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 99, dated the 31st July 1933

To

Distrate, Ahmedabad.

You are now authorised to arrest Gandhi today under section 3 and commit him to jail custody at Yeravda Central Prison. Date of release not

to be specified in warrant. If time of arrest does not permit despatch tonight detain for one night at Sabarmati Jail.

Mahadev Desai should be similarly dealt with and sent with Gandhi to Yeravda. Narandas Gandhi should be committed to Sabarmati Jail under section 3 and detained there for the present,

Gandhi has intimated that in event of his own arrest 32 members of Ashram including 16 women will start on 1st August to march to Ras. These persons should be arrested before starting and released locally with orders under section 4 as already explained. You may use your discretion in specifying their area of restriction on principles suggested in your express letter of 28th July. Other Ashramites peaceably dispersing need not be interfered with unless you think necessary.

Please report Gandhi's arrest to Government by *clear-the-line En Clair* telegram containing single word "TRYST".

Please inform Commissioner of these orders.

Bombay Special
H. M., H. D.

Copies to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 221]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 1875, dated the 31st July 1933

From

Home, Simla ;

To

Bombay Special, Poona.

Clear-the-Line—

Your telegram No. 100, dated the 31st July.

The Government of India consider it most important not to allow critics of Government a start. They trust therefore that a detailed statement will be prepared as early as possible which may be issued at once by the Government of Bombay without previous reference to Government of India, the statement being telegraphed here *en clair* for publicity purposes as soon as ready for issue.

2. The Government of India accept your view that announcement of intentions is undesirable, but consider it essential that a short statement should be issued immediately after arrest. They would also prefer to give the full text of Gandhi's telegram as suggested by the Secretary of State and to omit

the last sentence of your draft which may convey the impression that a case has yet to be worked up. If the Government of Bombay have no objection to these modifications we propose to issue draft as so modified to the press in Simla as soon as you inform us of the arrest and of the issue of a statement by you.

Copies to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.).

H. M., H. D.

Received at Poona at 23-45 hrs. on 31st July.

Received in S. B. at 00-05 hrs. on 1st August.

Decoded at 00-35 hrs. on 1st August.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 231]

Herewith is draft statement explaining reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest for approval of G. of I.

X If H. E. agrees paragraph 4 might be omitted. In that event decision (1) of Mr. Aney's statement quoted in paragraph 3 may also be omitted.

R. D. B.

31st July

Sec. H. E.

H. E. (P. S. G.).

I have made one verbal amendment in pencile. I think the draft is very good. I agree with X above.

(Sd.) F. O. SYKES

31st July 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 3]

Para. 1 of Home Member's minute,

The information will I think all be in our weekly letters which started almost immediately after the October fast. These letters should be extracted and put up without the former papers with a covering abstract showing occasions of the kind wanted by Home Member.

Please also note (separately) whether there were any other demands of a special character made between January and October 1932, especially if these are accompanied by threats of fast. Para. 2 (4) of minute.

Please also make copies of Gandhi's statements under sections 3-4 and of his statement in Court.

These, as well as copies of all the letters, should be typed in triplicate, as we may want spare copies.

(Type consecutively, not a separate page for each letter).

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
1st August
(H. Secretary)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 65-73]

**Statement explaining the reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at Ahmedabad
on the 1st August 1933**

On the 8th of May Mr. Gandhi began a twenty-one days fast which, he stated in a telegram addressed to the Government of India, was 'for reasons wholly unconnected with Government and solely connected with the Harijan Movement'. In view of the nature and objects of the fast and the attitude of mind which it disclosed, Government considered it desirable to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty and he was released unconditionally the same evening.

2. After his release he issued on the same evening a statement to the press in which he affirmed that his views about civil disobedience had undergone no change whatsoever. At his suggestion however Mr. Aney, the Acting President of the Congress, suspended the civil disobedience movement for a period of six weeks.

3. This period was subsequently extended in order to give an opportunity to Mr. Gandhi to consult Congress leaders in regard to the continuance or otherwise of the civil disobedience movement. For this purpose a meeting of Congress leaders was held at Poona from the 12th to 14th July at which about 150 delegates from all over India are said to have been present. Although the meeting was understood to be private, the public have already drawn their own conclusions regarding the course and character of the proceedings from the accounts of them published in the press. The decisions of this Conference which were announced by Mr. Aney in a published statement issued on the 22nd July included the following :—

‘ (1) Mass Civil Disobedience including No-Tax and No-Rent campaign should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities to continue Civil Disobedience being reserved.

(2) All those who are able and willing to offer individual Civil Disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress Organisations are expected to do so.’

4. After the issue of Mr. Aney's statement Mr. Gandhi announced his intention of disbanding his Ashram on the Sabarmati river. This was followed on the 26th July by a statement explaining the course of future action which he intended to follow in association with the inmates of the Ashram. On account of many objectionable passages in it inciting to civil disobedience this statement has not been published in full by the press, with one or two exceptions. In order that the public may realise fully the grounds on which Government have acted the following extracts giving Mr. Gandhi's views regarding the continuance of civil disobedience movement are now published :—

' In my opinion it would have been disastrous if, in the existing circumstances, Civil Disobedience had been altogether withdrawn....

The continuance of Civil Resistance even by one person insures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair or weakness.....

Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement.

But ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of the ordinance rule now crystallized into statute by the so-called legislatures..... Civil Disobedience, is therefore, to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentence in due course or through the strength of the people. On termination of their sentence, they should seek reimprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all the risks attendant upon their action including uttermost penury and the loss of all their possessions, moveable or immoveable or physical torture such as lathi-blows.....

Naturally such action can only be expected from a small number, especially in the beginning. The very enumeration of the hardships is likely to frighten many people. But experience of patriots and reformers all the world over shows that nature provides us with the capacity for suffering when it is taken up in the true spirit.

It follows that such response, if it comes at all, must come in the first instance from the intelligentsia. Their example will prove infectious in the long run and pervade the whole nation resulting in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious. Moreover individuals from among the masses can certainly act even now.....I am convinced that these men and women will represent the national spirit and the nation's determination to win independence in every sense of the term..... For I hold that true independence, i.e., independence in term of and on behalf of the masses can be proved in India's case, to be unattainable by any other method.

Whilst Congressmen may be counted by the crore, Civil Resistance, under the new scheme, will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions.....

It will be the duty of Congressmen and even others who sympathise with the Congress methods and aims, wherever possible to give relief to the indigent families of Civil Resisters especially to the utterly destitute peasantry who joined the no-tax campaign. For they must be ensured that every inch of the land confiscated during the campaign (I think lawless and wrongly) will be returned to them or their progeny when the nation comes to her own as it must some day.'

5. It is apparent from this announcement that while Mr. Gandhi did not appear to contemplate the immediate commission of an overt act of civil disobedience in the sense of a breach of the ordinary law he was about to begin a period of preparation and propaganda which could not fail to lead to the same unfortunate results as his policy of 1921 and 1930-31, and his announcement of renewed civil disobedience in January 1932. The new campaign was to be inaugurated by a spectacular abandonment of the Ashram by his closest followers. Thereafter local sympathy and benevolence would be appealed to and local sentiment excited by their homeless condition. The former owners of lands in Gujarat forfeited in 1930-31 in the no-tax campaign were to be stirred up by the assurance of the return of their lands. By these means it seemed intended that the opportunities for propaganda in favour of continued and intensified civil disobedience should grow.

6. These apprehensions of Government were confirmed on 30th July by a telegram to them from Mr. Gandhi which has been published. This telegram included an intimation that, with his companions from the Ashram, Mr. Gandhi intended to march to the village of Ras in Kaira district in order to ' tender sympathy to villages most hit'. The message also stated that he had no desire to invite the villagers to mass civil disobedience but individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of the Congress resolution. He also stated that he and his companions would march ' piceless ' and depend upon the villagers feeding them. The villagers of Ras have been outstanding in the past in their adherence to Mr. Gandhi and his policy and even after the settlement of 1931 and despite great patience exercised by Government many of them persisted in the contumacious refusal to pay land revenue and suffered forfeiture of their lands.

7. There is of course no real distinction between ' mass ' and ' individual' civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi himself contemplated that the example of individuals should ' pervade the whole nation resulting in a mass awakening '. There is nothing in effect to distinguish the proposed campaign from that inaugurated in 1930 by Mr. Gandhi's march from his Ashram to Dandi in the Surat district for the ostensible purpose of breaking the Salt Laws. After the experience of 1930-31 and after the successful efforts made by

Government during the last eighteen months to maintain peace and order it was impossible that Government should allow Mr. Gandhi the continuance of the liberty which he obtained in May in order to enable him to pursue his fast in view of the fact that he has declared his intention of using this liberty to carry on a campaign subversive of law and order. Mr. Gandhi has had full time and opportunity since his fast to understand the present political situation and the views of the public including his own followers and Government believe that they will have ample public support to the measures taken and described in the following paragraph.

8. In December 1932, the Bombay Legislative Council passed a Bill, now entitled the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, which, as stated in the preamble, conferred special powers upon Government and its officers for the maintenance of the public security in case of emergency. Acting under the powers conferred by section 3 of this Act the Governor in Council, being satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. Gandhi 'has acted, is acting and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace' has ordered Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 75-77]

**Statement of Mr. M. K. Gandhi under section 3 (2) of Bombay
Act No. XVI of 1932**

There has never been the slightest desire on my part to disturb the public peace, as I think. In my opinion I have never done a single thing consciously to disturb the public peace. On the contrary, I make bold to say that I have made the best endeavour possible to promote public peace and I can show several instances in which I have attained very considerable success in preserving and promoting public peace. Being a lover of peace all my life, nothing can be remoter from my thought than to disturb public peace.

Before me,
(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

1st August 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 3]

AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON
1st August 1933

Dear Major Adwani,

You might know that before my discharge, owing to my fast, from the Yeravda Central Prison in May last, I was permitted to do Harijan Work and to see freely visitors and equally freely to receive and send letters, to have a typist and to receive newspapers, magazines and other literature.

I hope that I would be given the same facilities now. I may state that a weekly newspaper called *Harijan* is issued at Poona and it is necessary for me to send matter for the paper and otherwise instruct the Editor. I have detained in Ahmedabad the Typist I brought from Poona. I have understood from you that you received no instructions from the Government as yet in the matter. Will you please obtain the necessary instructions by wire ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.
4th August 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, p. 53]

**Extract from the Confidential Weekly Letter of the District Magistrate,
Sukkur, No. 282/C, dated the 1st August 1933**

Press—

'The *Sindhi*, dated 30th July 1933, under the heading 'Is it not surrender' comments on the Poona Conference as under :—

' We will not withdraw Civil Disobedience that would be a too humiliating confession of defeat; it would mean pure surrender' declare the Poona Conference, prompted powerfully by Gandhiji. The statement which Mr. Aney as acting President of the Congress has issued after considering the views expressed by most of the delegates and the advice of Gandhiji— what does it come to, if not to a surrender complete? Even if it turns out that this statement is very different from what was drafted by Gandhiji and others for Mr. Aney to sign and that, as Gandhiji himself has told the press, it has been ' mutilated' somehow and somewhere, the fact cannot be gain said, if we carefully scan Gandhi's own statement to the *Daily Herald* previous to and in anticipation of Mr. Aney's statement, it cannot be gainsaid, we assert that the Congress and its great inspirer had practically yielded themselves up to Government all along the line. Mass Civil Disobedience was to go; secret methods were to go; Congress organisations in as much as they throve on secret methods were to go ; only individual Congressmen might still offer civil disobedience as individuals; how far does all this fall short of the contents of Mr. Aney's statement ? To our mind it is substantially the same. The appointment of dictators in place of Congress Committee is only a necessary corollary to the general idea.

As regards the alleged ' Mutilation', it is just likely that Mr. Aney realising his position as President (as something more than puppet President) has acted on his own responsibility after fully considering as he tells us, the view expressed at the Conference and thereafter. Possibly, too, he felt that the Mahatma was imposing his will upon the Congress to an excessive degree and the President at least must rise for once above dictation.

It is not impossible that a revolution, a rebellion should be arising within the Congress organisation itself. Strange indeed are the changes, aye are the revenges, which the whirligig of time does bring.'

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 143]

**Statement explaining the reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest
at Ahmedabad on the 1st August 1933**

On the 8th of May Mr. Gandhi began a twenty-one days fast which, he stated in a telegram addressed to the Government of India, was 'for reasons wholly unconnected with Government and solely connected with the Harijan Movement'. In view of the nature and objects of the fast and the attitude of mind which it disclosed, Government considered it desirable to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty and he was released unconditionally the same evening.

2. After his release he issued on the same evening a statement to the press in which he affirmed that his views about civil disobedience had undergone no change whatsoever. At his suggestion however Mr. Aney, the Acting President of the Congress, suspended the civil disobedience movement for a period of six weeks.

3. This period was subsequently extended in order to give an opportunity to Mr. Gandhi to consult Congress leaders in regard to the continuance or otherwise of the civil disobedience movement. For this purpose a meeting of Congress leaders was held at Poona from the 12th to the 14th July at which about 150 delegates from all over India are said to have been present. Although the meeting was understood to be private, the public have already drawn their own conclusions regarding the course and character of the proceedings from the accounts of them published in the press. The decisions of this Conference which were announced by Mr. Aney in a published statement issued on the 22nd July included the following: —

' (1) Mass Civil Disobedience including No-Tax and No-Rent campaign should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities to continue Civil Disobedience being reserved.

(2) All those who are able and willing to offer individual Civil Disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress Organisations are expected to do so'.

4. After the issue of Mr. Aney's statement Mr. Gandhi announced his intention of disbanding his Ashram on the Sabarmati river. This was followed on the 26th July by a statement explaining the course of future action which he intended to follow in association with the inmates of the Ashram. On account of many objectionable passages in it inciting to civil disobedience this statement has not been published in full by the press, with one or two exceptions. In order that the public may realise fully the grounds on which

Government have acted the following extracts giving Mr. Gandhi's views regarding the continuance of civil disobedience movement are now published : —

' In my opinion it would have been disastrous if, in the existing circumstances, Civil Disobedience had been altogether withdrawn.

The continuance of Civil Resistance even by one person insures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair or weakness. Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement.

But ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of the ordinance rule now crystallised into statute by the so-called legislatures.

Civil Disobedience is, therefore, to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility although they would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They should be prepared for indefinite incarceration whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by termination of their sentence in due course or through the strength of the people. On termination of their sentence, they should seek reimprisonment on the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all the risks attendant upon their action including uttermost penury and the loss of all their possessions, moveable or immoveable or physical torture such as lathi blows.

Naturally such action can only be expected from a small number, especially in the beginning. The very enumeration of the hardships is likely to frighten many people. But experience of patriots and reformers all the world over shows that Nature provides us with the capacity for suffering when it is taken up in the true spirit.

It follows that such response, if it comes at all, must come in the first instance from the intelligentsia. Their example will prove infectious in the long run and pervade the whole nation resulting in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious. Moreover individuals from among the masses can certainly act even now.I am convinced that these men and women will represent the national spirit and the nation's determination to win independence in every sense of the term.....For I hold that true independence, i.e. independence in term of and on behalf of the masses can be proved in India's case, to be unattainable by any other method.

Whilst Congress men may be counted by the crore, Civil Resistance, under the new scheme, will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions.

It will be the duty of Congress men and even others who sympathise with the Congress methods and aims, wherever possible to give relief to the indigent families of Civil Resisters especially to the utterly destitute peasantry

who joined the no-tax campaign. For they must be ensured that every inch of the land confiscated during the campaign (I think lawless and wrongly) will be returned to them or their progeny when the nation comes to her own as it must some day.'

5. It is apparent from this announcement that while Mr. Gandhi did not appear to contemplate the immediate commission of an overt act of civil disobedience in the sense of a breach of the ordinary law he was about to begin a period of preparation and propaganda which could not fail to lead to the same unfortunate results as his policy of 1921 and 1930-31, and his announcement of renewed civil disobedience in January 1932. The new campaign was to be inaugurated by a spectacular abandonment of the Ashram by his closest followers. Thereafter local sympathy and benevolence would be appealed to and local sentiment excited by their homeless condition. The former owners of lands in Gujarat forfeited in 1930-31 in the no-tax campaign were to be stirred up by the assurance of the return of their lands. By these means it seemed intended that the opportunities for propaganda in favour of continued and intensified civil disobedience should grow.

6. These apprehensions of Government were confirmed on 30th July by a telegram to them from Mr. Gandhi which has been published. This telegram included an intimation that, with his companions from the Ashram, Mr. Gandhi intended to march to the village of Ras in Kaira district in order to 'tender sympathy to villages most hit'. The message also stated that he had no desire to invite the villagers to mass civil disobedience but individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of the Congress resolution. He also stated that he and his companions would march 'piceless' and depend upon the villagers feeding them. The villagers of Ras have been outstanding in the past in their adherence to Mr. Gandhi and his policy and even after the settlement of 1931 and despite great patience exercised by Government many of them persisted in the contumacious refusal to pay land revenue and suffered forfeiture of their lands.

7. There is of course no real distinction between 'mass' and 'individual' civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi himself contemplated that the example of individuals should 'pervade the whole nation resulting in a mass awakening'. There is nothing in effect to distinguish the proposed campaign from that inaugurated in 1930 by Mr. Gandhi's march from his Ashram to Dandi in the Surat district for the ostensible purpose of breaking the salt laws. After the experience of 1930-31 and after the successful efforts made by Government during the last 18 months to maintain peace and order it was impossible that Government should allow Mr. Gandhi the continuance of the liberty which he obtained in May in order to enable him to pursue his fast in view of the fact that he has declared his intention of using this liberty to carry on a campaign subversive of law and order. Mr. Gandhi has had full time and opportunity since his fast to understand the present political situation and

the views of the public including his own followers and Government believe that they will have ample public support to the measures taken and described in the following paragraph.

8. In December 1932 the Bombay Legislative Council passed a Bill, now entitled the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, which, as stated in the preamble, conferred special powers upon Government and its officers for the maintenance of the public security in case of emergency. Acting under the powers conferred by section 3 of this Act the Governor in Council, being satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. Gandhi ' has acted, is acting and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace' has ordered Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

Copies sent to :—

H. E. (P. S. G.).
H. M.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 257]

SECRET

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.P.O.X. (VI)-47, Ahmedabad, 1st August 1933

To

Secretary,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

Copy to :—

Commissioner, Northern Division.

M. K. Gandhi and thirty-six others were arrested under section 3 of Act XVI of 1932 at 2 a.m. this morning. No hitch of any kind occurred. Mr. Gandhi informed the police of a name which had been added at a very late hour to the list of those proposing to march to Ras in order that the complete party might be arrested. Copies of statements recorded under section 3 (2) are being separately submitted to Government. The whole party was committed to custody at the Ahmedabad Central Jail. M. P. Desai was later released as it appeared that he was not likely to commit any act prejudicial to the public safety or peace. Gandhi and Mahadev Desai are being dealt with as directed in Bombay Special Cypher telegram No. 99, dated the 31st July. It is requested that the order under section 3 (1) against Narandas Gandhi may be extended for a period of two months under section 3 (2).

Orders under section 4 have been prepared on the lines suggested in the penultimate paragraph of my No. S.P.O.X. (VI)-46, dated the 28th July 1933, but these have not yet been served. It would be very undesirable to release the Ashramites to-day when so much public attention is focussed on the Ashram and the Central Jail. I gathered from the Ashramites that all are sworn to attempt to reach Ras and that they will do so if and when

released. Release in a batch to-day would therefore have given an opportunity for a very large demonstration. There is a partial Hartal and all the mills are closed. I anticipate that it will be possible to release within 15 days all who are to be released at an early date, so that extensions by Government will not be necessary. The time and method of actual release is under consideration and I would suggest that discretion in this matter might be left to the local authorities.

(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

Copy sent to H. E, (P. S. G.)
2nd August

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 259]

From

J. B. Irwin, Esquire, D.S.O., M.C., I.C.S.,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad;

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

Ahmedabad, 1st August 1933

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the thirty-seven persons named in the attached list were arrested this day under section 3 (1) of Bombay Act XVI of 1932.

2. M. K. Gandhi, Mahadev Desai and M. P. Desai made statements under section 3 (2) : copies are forwarded herewith.

3. All the thirty-seven persons were committed to jail custody. M. P. Desai was later released as his further detention appeared unnecessary.

I have the honour to be,
Sir.
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

Submitted for information.
H. M.

(Sd.) R. D. Bell,
3rd August

E. E. (P. S. G.)

(Sd.) F. A. Sykes,
4th August

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 261]

List of persons arrested under section 3 (1) of Bombay Act, XVI of 1932

MEN

- 1.Mr. M. K. Gandhi.
- 2.Mr. Narandas Khusaldas Gandhi.
- 3.Mr. Narayan Moreshwar Khare.
- 4.Mr. Mahadev Haribhai Desai.
- 5.Mr. Valji Govindji Desai
- 6.Mr. Yeshvant Mahadev Parnerkar.
- 7.Mr. Sampson Henry Tilak.
- 8.Mr. Bhanushankar Dave.
- 9.Mr. Virya Khatriya.
- 10.Mr. Keshav Mahadev Chitre.
- 11.Mr. Abbas Varteji.
- 12.Mr. Surendra Jat.
- 13.Mr. Dinanath Dadpe.
- 14.Mr. Laxmidas Purshotamdas Assar.
- 15.Mr. Amritlal Nanavati.
- 16.Mr. P. Shree Ramulu Gupta.
- 17.Mr. Sadabhai.
- 18.Mr. Raojibhai Patel of Nadiad.
- 19.Mr. Maganlal P. Desai.
- 20.Balkrishna Kalelkar.

WOMEN

- 21.Kasturba Gandhi.
- 22.Gangaben Ranchhoddas.
- 23.Premaben Kantak.
- 24.Amtul Salam Ben.
- 25.Lilawati Asar.
- 26.Velaben Asar.
- 27.Durgaben w/o Mahadev H. Desai.
- 28.Maniben w/o Narhari D. Parikh.
- 29.Sakriben Shah.
- 30.Kamla Dadpe.
- 31.Aminaben Kureshi.
- 32.Narmada Rana.
- 33.Sulochana Amritlal.
- 34.Siddimati Mahilar.
- 35.Mahalaxbiben Thakkar.
- 36.Jankiben Soman.
- 37.Krishna Kumari.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), *Pari II*, pp. 253-65]

**Statement of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, under section 3 (2) of Bombay Act
XVI of 1932**

There has never been the slightest desire on my part to disturb the public peace, as I think. In my opinion I have never done a single thing consciously to disturb the public peace. On the contrary, I make bold to say that I have made the best endeavour possible to promote public peace and I can show several instances in which I have attained very considerable success in preserving and promoting public peace. Being a lover of peace all my life, nothing can be remoter from my thought than to disturb public peace.

Before me,
(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

1st August 1933

**Statement of Mr. Mahadev Desai under section 3 (2) of Bombay Act
XVI of 1932**

I am pledged to the practice and preaching of civil resistance for the attainment of Swaraj and at present moment to fight the epidemic of fear which has taken possession of the country.

Before me,
(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

1st August 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14). p. 85]

Mr. Gandhi's letters regarding his personal request since his arrest

AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON
1st August 1933

Dear Major Adwani,

You might know that before my discharge, owing to my fast, from the Yeravda Central Prison in May last, I was permitted to do Harijan work and thereanent to see freely visitors and equally freely to receive and send letters, to have a typist and to receive newspapers, magazines and other

literature. I hope that I would be given the same facilities now. I may state that a weekly newspaper called *Harijan* is issued at Poona and it is necessary for me to send matter for the paper and otherwise instruct the Editor. I have detained in Ahmedabad the typist I brought from Poona. I have understood from you that you have not received instructions from the Government as yet in this matter. Will you please obtain the necessary instructions by wire ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K.GANDHI.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part 11, p. 253*]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. e/88

From

E. E. Turner, Esquire, LP.,
Officiating Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, Poona.

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE
Post Box No. 2, Poona,
2nd August 1933

Sir,

In continuation of my No. S. 15, dated the 29th July 1933, a copy of which was sent to you, I have the honour to state that Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai were duly delivered by Mr. C. W. Condon, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Poona, at the Yeravda Central Jail this morning at 11-35 a.m. I attach with this the receipt in original handed to Mr. Condon by the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, for their custody.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.),
Officiating Inspector-General of Police.

H. M. and H. E. have been informed.

(Sd.) R. M. M.
2nd August

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 255]

Receipt for the Convicts newly admitted into the Yeravda Central Prison, District Jail:—

Name of the Convict	Class	Name of the Taluka from which received	Date of admission into the prison
Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Desai received from Ahmedabad and with cash Re. 1-0-0.	B	Ahmedabad	2nd August 1933.

Dated 2nd August 1933.

(Sd.),
Jailor,
Yeravda Central Jail.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 267]

**Statement of Maghanbhai Parbhudas Desai under section 3 (2) of
Bombay Act XVI of 1932**

I was surprised when I was arrested as I was not one of the marchers. Since the end of March till now I have not been taking any part in active politics and from May onwards I have been helping the Manager of the Navjivan Publication Dept. up to the day of my arrest. I have been living at the Ashram and assisting Mr. Jivanji Desai : the Dept. is engaged in getting books republished which are out of print. The work is being done at Presses in Ahmedabad. My name was called out at the Ashram so I came forward and was told I was wanted. On the Ashram being closed, I had proposed to find a house in the City and carry on with my publication work. I am under dental treatment in Ahmedabad and require further treatment. As I did not anticipate arrest I did not hasten treatment. I have no intention of Civil Disobedience so long as I am engaged in publication work.

Before me,

(Sd.) J. B. IRWIN,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part 11, p. 275]

SECRET

D. O., No. S. D. 3798.
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)
Poona, 3rd August 1933

Gandhi is being released shortly at Poona with an order under section 4 which it is expected that he will break. In the event of his conviction for breach of the order it is expected that the sentence of imprisonment passed

on him will not exceed one year and the Prosecutor will be asked to intimate to the Court that Government do not desire to press for a longer sentence. In these circumstances it is most likely that the actual sentence passed will be one year's imprisonment.

You will no doubt shortly have to deal with some of the Ashram people on similar lines and, on the principle that the followers should not be dealt with more severely than the leader. Government think that sentences of about six months would probably be suitable at any rate for the unimportant people. You will no doubt be able to arrange for this by instructing the Prosecuting officer to inform the Court that Government do not desire to press for sentences in excess of the term mentioned. You have full discretion however to make an exception in the case of any person who is likely to be more dangerous, such as Narandas Gandhi.

Should Mrs. Gandhi have to be dealt with, you will no doubt see that the sentence passed is one of simple imprisonment and that she is recommended for 'A' Class.

R. M. M.
3rd August

J. B. Irwin, Esquire, D.S.O., M.C, I.C.S.,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

**Statement of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, after hearing the directions proposed
to be issued under section 4 of Act XVI of 1932 which was read
out to him by the District Magistrate**

I have already this morning handed to Col. Martin, Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, a letter addressed to the Secretary, Home Department, on this subject. This gives my view on the subject and I have nothing further to add.

(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

3rd August 1933

Before me,

(Sd.) D. MACLACHLAN,
District Magistrate, Poona.

**Letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi, dated the 3rd August 1933, to the Secretary to the Government
of Bombay, Home Department.**

What purports to be an authentic report in the *Times of India*, dated the 2nd instant says that I am to be released after being served with an order which will restrict my movements to Poona and preclude any activities connected with the Civil Disobedience movement. It then goes on : ' Should he ignore this order he will be rearrested'. If the report be true, I would like to say in order to save Government possible, unnecessary embarrassment and to conserve my energy, which I am still regaining since the breaking

of the fast, that in accordance with my belief in Civil Disobedience, I shall be unable to conform to the order reported to be under contemplation. If the object be to secure my conviction I have no doubt that the sweeping powers possessed by Government enable them to do so without going through the vexatious procedure described in the abovementioned report.

I gratefully observe that Government have kept Sjt. Mahadev Desai with me. He therefore desires me to say that Civil Disobedience is as much a life principle with him as with me, and that he can no more refrain than I can from preaching or practising it.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 211]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

4th August 1933

Dear Sir,

On the day of my admission to the Ahmedabad Central Prison, I applied through its Superintendent for permission to resume anti-untouchability work as before my late fast. There is no reply to it as yet. Government know that I have been controlling the policy of the weekly newspaper *Harijan* and its Gujarati edition, and partly also the Hindi edition. This is only part of the anti-untouchability work I am doing in fulfilment of my promise to myself and the Harijans as an integral part of the Yeravda Pact. This work may not be interrupted except at the peril of my life. I would therefore esteem a reply by Monday next, so as to enable me to attend to next week's *Harijan* and to deal with certain important matters that were left pending at the time of my arrest.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 87-91]

URGENT

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

4th August 1933

Dear Sir,

On the day of my admission to the Ahmedabad Central Prison, I applied through its Superintendent for permission to resume anti-untouchability work as before my late fast. There is no reply to it as yet. Government know that I have been controlling the policy of the weekly newspaper *Harijan* and its Gujarati edition, and partly also the Hindi edition. This is only part of the anti-untouchability work I am doing in fulfilment of my promise to myself

and the Harijans as an integral part of the Yeravda Pact, This work may not be interrupted except at the peril of my life. I would therefore esteem a reply by Monday next, so as to enable me to attend to next week's *Harijan* and to deal with certain important matters that were left pending at the time of my arrest.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 79-83]

Statement made by Mr. M. K. Gandhi at his trial at Poona on 4th August 1933

EXHIBIT No. 5

CASE NO. 1 OF THE CRIMINAL REGISTER FOR 1933

Statement of the Accused

I state as follows :—

My name is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

My father's name is—

My age about 65 years.

I am by caste Hindu.

My occupation is spinner, weaver and farmer.

I am inhabitant of Sabarmati, Ahmedabad District.

Question.—What have you to say regarding the prosecution evidence just recorded ?

Answer.—The statements the several witnesses for prosecution have made are quite correct. I would like to make a very brief statement as to why I have committed what must be described as a wilful and deliberate breach of the order of the Government of Bombay. It cannot be a matter of pleasure to me to commit a breach of orders of constituted authority. I am a lover of peace and I regard myself as a good citizen voluntarily tendering obedience to the laws of the State to which I may belong. But there are occasions in the life-time of a citizen when it becomes his painful duty to disobey the laws and orders of his State. As is well-known such a painful duty came to me in 1919, and I have not only regarded it as my duty to offer Civil Disobedience but also to preach it to others. The law or act under which I have been tried is a glaring instance in proof of my contention that the system under which India is being governed today is not merely unjust but is dragging her down economically and morally. I have had recently a spell of life outside the prison and in the midst of the people in coming in contact with a very large number of men and women. I made what was to me a most painful discovery that men high and low, highly educated and uneducated, rich and poor, were demoralised and were living in perpetual fear—fear of

less of liberty and their possessions. It was a trial for me to live in the midst of that atmosphere. Being by nature from my childhood a confirmed believer in methods of non-violence I sought shelter in self-suffering such as might fall to my lot. That was the only way in which I could relieve myself of some of the agony that was burning me. It is for reasons such as these that I am offering all the resistance to this system of Government—resistance that is within my capacity and resistance that a peaceful man like me—could offer. One word more. Either you Sir or the Government would after sentencing me classify me. I must state that I intensely dislike the procedure of classification of prisoners into A, B and C. I have no desire whatsoever to enjoy special comforts to which other fellow prisoners might not be entitled. I would like to be classed amongst those whom the Government may consider to be the lowest. I would like in conclusion to state that the authorities with whom I have come in contact during these hours or perhaps two or three days have treated me and my companion with courtesy and consideration for which I am thankful to them.

(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

Before me,
(Sd.) HYAM S. ISRAEL,
Additional District Magistrate, Poona.

Poona, 4th August 1933

Question.—Did you understand the charge just read and explained to you ?

Answer.—Yes, I have.

Question.—Do you plead guilty ?

Answer.—Yes. I plead guilty.

(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI.

Before me,
(Sd.) HYAM S. ISRAEL,
Additional District Magistrate, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 13]

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency
Poona, 5th August 1933

My Dear Maxwell,

I send herewith a letter addressed to Martin from Gandhi.

In respect of his diet, I have issued the following order :—

The special diet to which A Class prisoner, M. K. Gandhi has been accustomed, and which we know to be the only diet that he can digest may be allowed him on medical grounds at the expense of the State.

This disposes of the first part of his letter. The other points are of interest as they bear on certain aspects of his case discussed today.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 15]

5th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

You were good enough this morning to tell me that according to rules I had to pay for any rations I needed outside the scale ordinarily provided for prisoners and that therefore I should tell you what I considered to be my minimum wants. I may say in the first instance that I do not desire to pay for any extra food that I may need. I was admitted as a convict in 1922 and I was not called upon to pay for anything in the shape of food or otherwise, but I recognise that Government may adopt a different policy this time, and if they do, that would be no cause for complaint by me. I should be satisfied with whatever food was provided so long as it did not interfere with the restrictions that I have observed now for many years. The food that I need and has been provided hitherto by the prison authorities is goats' milk, fresh and dried fruits, fresh vegetables, and, whenever I have needed it, bread.

You have asked me also to tell you what facilities I should like in the shape of newspapers, etc. I do not know that I have any choice in the matter. I must therefore leave it to the Government to decide what they would allow. As to correspondence and visits however, I have to write some business letters in connection with the disbandment of the Ashram, the affairs of the estate of the late Dr. P. J. Mehta and other social and religious obligations, and to have visits thereanent. I would like Government to extend to me the same facilities that they have given me hitherto.

There are however two things which are vital needs, just as much as food for the body. One of these is the conduct of the anti-untouchability movement on which I have already addressed the Government. The second is humanitarian contact with companions who are fellow prisoners. This last was recognised even during my first incarceration as a convict and has continued ever since. I hope that the practice will be so continued during the present incarceration.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 285]

Ahmedabad, August 5.—Gandhi gave all the cows belonging to the Ashram to the local cow protection society. The library was made over to the Ahmedabad Municipality. Rasiklal Maneklal, a native of Ahmedabad, who now resides at Bombay, has offered the Municipality a sum of Rs. 50,000 to erect a suitable building for a public library. The offer has been accepted and it is understood that a new library will be built near the Victoria Gardens.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 287]

S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, August 10.—The marginally noted persons left Ahmedabad for Wardha on July 31 accompanied by Sitla Sahai and twenty children to take up their residence in the Ashram there. Will the C.P.C.I.D. please note ?

Duncan Greenless.

Miss. Margaret Spiegel.

Miss. Nila Cram Cook.

Miss. F. N. Barr.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 289]

Ahmedabad, August 12.—Two of the persons arrested alongwith M. K. Gandhi were released unconditionally. Thirty-two were released on August 7 after being served with orders under section 4 (1) of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932. They were subsequently arrested for disobedience of the orders and prosecuted and convicted.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8), Part III, p. 241]

THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5TH AUGUST 1933

Mr. Gandhi's reason for Law-Breaking Self-suffering: Statement before Magistrate

Describing himself as a spinner, weaver and farmer, aged 64, and a resident of Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi said that he wished to make a brief statement, when he was tried in Yeravda jail on Friday for breach of the police order.

The statements made by the several witnesses are quite correct,' he said, ' I would like to say briefly why I have committed what must be described as a wilful and deliberate breach of the orders of the Government of Bombay'.

'I think it cannot be a matter of pleasure to me to commit a breach of the orders of the constituted authority. I am a lover of peace and I regard myself as a good citizen, voluntarily tendering obedience to the laws of the state to which I may belong, but there are occasions in the life of a citizen when it becomes his painful duty to disobey the laws and orders of his state. As is well-known such painful duty came to me in 1919 and I have not only regarded it as my duty to offer civil disobedience but also to preach it to others.'

What he learnt while free

' This law or act, under which I am being tried, is a glaring instance in proof of my contention that the system under which India is being governed today is not merely unjust but is dragging her down economically and morally. I have had recently a spell of life outside the prison, and in the midst of the people, in coming in contact with a very large number of men and women, I made what was to me a most painful discovery that men, high and low, highly educated and uneducated, rich and poor, were demoralised and were living in perpetual fear of the loss of liberty and their possessions.'

Reason for law breaking

' It was a trial for me to live in the midst of that atmosphere. Being by nature, from my childhood, a confirmed believer in methods of non-violence, I sought shelter in self-suffering such as might fall to my lot. That was the only way in which I could relieve myself of some of the agony that was burning me. It is for reasons, such as these that I am offering all resistance to this system of government that is within my capacity and that a peaceful man like me could offer.

' One word more. Either you, Sir, or Government would, after sentencing me classify me. I must state that I intensely dislike the procedure of classifying prisoners into " A ", " B " and " C ". I have no desire whatsoever to enjoy special comforts to which other prisoners might not be entitled. I would like to be classed amongst those whom Government may consider to be the lowest.'

Treated with courtesy

' I would like in conclusion to state that the authorities with whom I have come in contact during these two or three days have treated me and my companion with courtesy and consideration, for which I am thankful to them'.

Mr. Gandhi then signed his statement, during the making of which, at \ times, his voice trembled and one expected him to stop altogether.

The Magistrate then framed the charge that he had that morning wilfully disobeyed the direction given him in the order issued under the Bombay Presidency (Emergency) Powers Act.

Mr. Gandhi said that he understood the charge, and in reply to a question as to how he wished to plead he said, ' I plead guilty.'

Mr. Gandhi's Secretary sentenced to one year's imprisonment

Mr. Mahadev Desai was brought before the Magistrate after Mr. Gandhi's trial and two prosecution witnesses, namely, the District Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent, were examined. They deposed to the effect that Mr. Desai was also served, simultaneously with Mr. Gandhi, with an order requiring him to leave Yeravda village limits before 9-30 a.m. He failed to comply with the order and was arrested.

Mr. Mahadev Desai did not wish to cross-examine the witnesses.

For occupation Mr. Desai desired the Magistrate to put down anything he pleased and stated that his place of residence was Yeravda Central Prison. Asked if he pleaded guilty, Mr. Desai stated that he thought it his duty to disobey the order and so he disobeyed it.

The Magistrate sentenced Mr. Desai to one year's simple imprisonment.

He has been placed in ' B ' class.

6th August 1933

Dear Sir,

Government's reply that my request for permission to resume anti-untouchability work is under consideration but that decision cannot be given by Monday next has been just conveyed to me (10 a.m.)

In thanking Government for the reply, I would like to state that there are three matters which do not admit of delay if my work is not to suffer seriously.

The Editor in Chief, Sjt. Sastri, of *Harijan* is bedridden and on sick-leave in Madras. The paper is in-charge of two men untrained for the work. For last week's issue I had made arrangements beforehand and sent some manuscripts from Sabarmati last Monday. Whilst therefore Government are considering my request, I should be permitted to see Sjts. Anand Hingorani or Kaka Kalelkar, the two persons in-charge and to send manuscripts for next week's issue.

' The second is a letter from Dr. Tagore which was given to me on Friday last. I enclose it herewith. It demands an immediate reply.

The third is this : I have four Europeans under training for Harijan service. They were at the Sabarmati Ashram. They are Miss Mary Barr, Nila Naginidevi, Dr. Margaret Spiegel, and Mr. Duncan Greenless. They have been sent

to Wardha where they would be in unfamiliar surroundings. Naginidevi and Dr. Spiegel are comparative strangers to India and otherwise require delicate attention. I would like to be able to write to them and to Sjt. Vinoba who is in-charge of Wardha Ashram and who is to look after them.

There are other matters of no less importance, but which can await a few day's delay. I venture to hope therefore that pending their decision, Government will grant me by tomorrow the facilities requested about the three matters I have mentioned.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI.

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

5th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

You were good enough this morning to tell me that according to rules I had to pay for my rations I needed outside the scale ordinarily provided for prisoners and that therefore I should tell you what I considered to be my minimum wants. I may say in the first instance that I do not desire to pay for any extra food that I may need. I was admitted as a convict in 1922 and I was not called upon to pay for anything in the shape of food or otherwise, but I recognise that Government may adopt a different policy this time, and if they do, that would be no cause for complaint by me. I should be satisfied with whatever food was provided so long as it did not interfere with the restrictions that I have observed now for many years. The food that I need and has been provided hitherto by the prison authorities is goat's milk, fresh and dried fruits, fresh vegetables, and, whenever I have needed it, bread.

You have asked me also to tell you what facilities I should like in the shape of newspapers, etc. I do not know that I have any choice in the matter. I must therefore leave it to the Government to decide what they would allow. As to correspondence and visits however, I have to write some business letters in connection with the disbandment of the Ashram, the affairs of the estate of the late Dr. P. J. Mehta and other social and religious obligations, and to have visits thereanent. I would like Government to extend to me the same facilities that they have given me hitherto.

There are however two things which are vital needs, just as much as food for the body. One of these is the conduct of the anti-untouchability movement on which I have already addressed the Government. The second is humanitarian contact with companions who are fellow prisoners. This last was

recognised even during my first incarceration as a convict and has continued ever since. I hope that the practice will be so continued during the present incarceration.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 23]

6th August 1933

Dear Sir,

Government's reply that my request for permission to resume anti-untouchability work is under consideration but that decision cannot be given by Monday next has been just conveyed to me (10 a.m.)

In thanking Government for the reply, I would like to state that there are three matters which do not admit of delay if my work is not to suffer seriously. The Editor-in-chief, Sjt. Sastri, of *Harijan* is bedridden and on sick leave in Madras. The paper is in-charge of two men untrained for the work. For last two week's issue I had made arrangement beforehand and sent some manuscripts from Sabarmati last Monday. Whilst therefore Government are considering my request, I should be permitted to see Sjts. Anand Hingorani or Kaka Kalelkar, the two persons in-charge and to send manuscripts for next week's issue.

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The third is this: I have four Europeans under training for Harijan service. They were at the Sabarmati Ashram. They are Miss. Mary Barr, Nila Naginidevi, Dr. Margaret Spiegel, Mr. Duncan Greenless. They have been sent to Wardha where they would be in unfamiliar surroundings. Naginidevi and Dr. Spiegel are comparative strangers to India and otherwise require delicate attention. I would like to be able to write to them and to Sjt. Vinoba who is in-charge of Wardha Ashram and who is to look after them.

There are other matters of no less importance, but which can await a few day's delay. I venture to hope therefore that pending their decision, Government will grant me by tomorrow the facilities requested about the three matters I have mentioned.

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.K.GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 33]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 3849

HOME DEPARTMENT

Poona, 6th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to his letter of the 6th August 1933 addressed to Government in which Mr. Gandhi requests permission (1) to see Mr. Anand Hingorani or Mr. Kalelkar in connection with next week's issue of the *Harijan* newspaper, (2) to reply to a letter received by him from Dr. Tagore about the Poona Pact, and (3) to write to Mr. Vinoba of the Wardha Ashram, Miss Mary Barr, Nila Naginidevi, Dr. Margaret Spiegel and Mr. Duncan Greenless, I am directed to request that Mr. Gandhi may be informed as follows.

2. *First request.*—He is allowed *one* interview with one of the persons mentioned in order to hand him manuscripts and give oral instructions. It should be explained to Mr. Gandhi, however, that, pending orders on his general request under consideration, this permission is granted under clause (1) of Rule 454 of the Bombay Jail Manual which allows a newly-admitted prisoner one or two interviews for the purpose of settling his private affairs, and that it cannot be repeated unless Government decide to grant him special facilities for carrying on this work.

3. *Second request.*—As Dr. Tagore's letter (herewith returned) appears to have reached Mr. Gandhi before his conviction, he is allowed to answer it, but, unless his reply is confined to a bare acknowledgement, it will have to count as the fortnightly letter to which he is entitled as an 'A' Class prisoner.

4. *Third request.*—There is no provision for such correspondence in the rules governing the treatment of prisoners, and that Government are unable to grant this request as an additional facility. Mr. Gandhi can, however, make

any of the persons named the addressee of a fortnightly letter which he is entitled to write as an ' A ' Class prisoner.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

R. M. MAXWELL,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.
6th August.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 42]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
8th August 1933

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for the very prompt reply to my letter of the 6th containing three requests. I have thankfully taken advantage, pending orders on my general request about Harijan work, of the permission granted on the first request, and of the very limited permission granted on the second and the third requests. I may however state that in making my requests I have not been influenced by the fact of my being classified as an ' A ' Class prisoner. Having lodged my protest at my trial against classification, I did not and do not want to make unnecessary fuss about it, and I know that it is open to me not to avail myself of any of the privileges allowed to ' A ' Class prisoners. Moreover I am quite aware that I allow myself to enjoy physical facilities not granted by Government to other prisoners of even ' A ' Class. I do so not because I have been classified ' A', but because those facilities are a physical or medical necessity for me. But I need other facilities which are higher than those and without which life itself becomes an intolerable burden. They arise from the cravings of the soul. But I am anxious as a prisoner to avoid all controversy with Government. I would ask them therefore to be as considerate in regard to my supra-physical needs, as they have been in regard to my physical needs.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 93]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

8th August 1933

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for the very prompt reply to my letter of the 6th containing three requests. I have thankfully taken advantage, pending orders on my general requests about Harijan work, of the permission granted on the first request, and of the very limited permission granted on the second and the third requests. I may however state that in making my requests I have not been influenced by the fact of my being classified as an 'A' Class prisoner. Having lodged my protest at my trial against classification, I did not and do not want to make unnecessary fuss about it, and I know that it is open to me not to avail myself of any of the privileges allowed to 'A' Class prisoners. Moreover I am quite aware that I allow myself to enjoy physical facilities not granted by Government to other prisoners of even 'A' Class. I do so not because I have been classified 'A', but because those facilities are a physical or medical necessity for me. But I need other faculties which are higher than these and without which life itself becomes an intolerable burden. They rise from the cravings of the soul. But I am anxious as a prisoner to avoid all controversy with Government. I would ask them therefore to be as considerate in regard to my supra-physical needs, as they have been in regard to my physical needs.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 53]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

10th August 1933

Dear Sir,

I regret to have to remind you of my letters regarding Harijan work. Kakasaheb Kalelkar whom I met on Monday last told me that there were urgent letters in the matter awaiting me in the past. There are pressing Harijan problems demanding my immediate attention. I do hope therefore that I shall be favoured with the final decision before or on Monday next at the latest.

I attach hereto a copy of the Government of India's orders in the matter. In my humble opinion there are unequivocal.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 95-97]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
10th August 1933

Dear Sir,

I regret to have to remind you of my letters regarding Harijan work. Kakasaheb Kalelkar whom I met on Monday last told me that there were urgent letters in the matter awaiting me in the past. There are pressing Harijan problems demanding my immediate attention. I do hope therefore that I shall be favoured with the final decision before or on Monday next at the latest.

I attach hereto a copy of the Government of India's orders in the matter. In my humble opinion they are unequivocal.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (8)-A, pp. 115-27]

CONFIDENTIAL

EXPRESS LETTER

No. S.D. 3936

Dated the 11th August 1933

To

HOME, Simla.

Reference your Express Letter No. D. 4921/33-Political, of July 24th in which you request that the Government of India may be furnished with a special report (a) showing the reactions of the Poona Conference, and (b) giving the local Government's appreciation of the effect of Mr. Aney's statement.

2. For some considerable time before the Poona Conference met it was clear that a strong body of public opinion had come into existence which was anxious to see the end of civil disobedience, while even among the genuine

supporters of Congress there was a large section definitely in favour of the unconditional abandonment of the movement and a reorientation of Congress policy. A variety of factors contributed to this development, chief among which were : (1) a growing realisation of the futility of a campaign which did not command popular support. Even before the formal suspension of civil disobedience in May last, mass civil disobedience was moribund and occasional attempts on the part of Congress headquarters to whip it into activity by the promulgation of spectacular programmes failed to secure popular support. This state of things was in no small degree attributable to the firm action and the steady pressure maintained by Government against all forms of Congress lawlessness; (2) Mr. Gandhi's vigorous espousal of the *Harijan* cause had alienated a considerable number of his orthodox Hindu followers and had spread confusion among the Congress rank and file. The Muslims regarded this development as a subtle manoeuvre to strengthen the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha *vis-a-vis* the new Constitution, while the depressed classes themselves led by Dr. Ambedkar refused to be made a pawn in the political game ; (3) Many Congressmen had come to recognise that the longer they persisted in a losing fight, the more they would prejudice their political future when the Reforms came into being.

3. It was in this atmosphere that the Poona Conference met and it was not unnatural therefore that the majority of delegates from the presidency should strongly have advocated the unconditional calling off of civil disobedience. The feeling of hope thus engendered was rudely shaken when Mr. Gandhi, backed up rather unexpectedly by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in an impassioned appeal to sentiment was able to force his will on the meeting and by clever manoeuvring to secure decisions in direct contravention of the expressed wishes of the majority of those present.

4. In the majority of districts the results of the Conference do not appear to have attracted much interest. In the Central Division however feeling is reported to have been strong against Mr. Gandhi's exhibition of his influence over the majority of the delegates and his action is said to have weakened his influence in political circles, while in Sind it is reported that enlightened nationalist opinion was not inclined to favour the resumption of civil disobedience. In Bombay City dissatisfaction with the decisions of the Conference found expression in Tilakite political circles when two poorly attended meetings were held on the 19th and 24th July, at the second of which Mr. N. C. Kelkar was present, and the question was considered of reviving the Bombay Home Rule League on the lines of the Tilak Swaraj Sangh to promote constructive and constitutional work and the capture of the legislatures. The position at present remains static, pending the views of the Executive Committee of the Tilak Swaraj Sangh at Poona.

On the other hand opinion seems to have been fairly general in deploring His Excellency the Viceroy's refusal to grant Mr. Gandhi an interview on

the ground that an interview could have done no harm, but at the same time the belief was not particularly strong that an interview would have materially altered the position and it was evident that the refusal was generally anticipated. Opinion in moderate circles was perhaps reflected in the interview given to the press in Madras on the 17th July by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, the President of the National Liberal Federation, when he said :—

' National interests require a fundamental change in the Congress policy. Perhaps Mr. Gandhi hoped to accomplish something as the result of the interview with the Viceroy before advising his lieutenants on a definite change of policy. It is therefore regrettable that the Viceroy has refused the interview'.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, representing opinion midway between the Moderates and the Congress, interviewed at Poona on the same day by a Press representative is reported to have stated :—

' It is quite clear that even the Congress workers were against continuing the civil disobedience movement and yet they defeated the first resolution about unconditional and immediate discontinuance out of loyalty to Mr. Gandhi. Lip sealing has been the bane of public life under Mr. Gandhi's regime. It may be glorious from Mr. Gandhi's point of view, but it is disastrous indeed from the point of view, of the country..... The pretence put up by some people that public opinion was in favour of a continuation of the movement and that they were only kept from stating their views publicly by the Ordinances had been disproved. The Poona meeting came to be regarded on all hands as if it were a session of a legislature, that is, that there would be immunity even for the advocacy of a continuation of the movement.....Here was an ideal opportunity for the advocates of the movement and others to open their hearts to the full, which they did. Therefore the views expressed up to the last minute indicated that the sense of the meeting if taken would have been a definite declaration in favour of discontinuance of civil disobedience, but Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya unexpectedly threw their weight on the other side, and it happened that the actual decision of the meeting was against the sense of judgment of the meeting itself. The refusal of an interview by the Viceroy was therefore a foregone conclusion.....The Viceroy might however have graciously granted Mr. Gandhi an unconditional interview and not repeated the mistake of 1932. Nothing would have been lost by an exchange of views

Mr. Shaukat Ali, representing the Muslim Central Khilafat Committee, expressed himself as follows:—

' The Poona Conference may have proved a personal triumph for Mr. Gandhi but it has been a matter of humiliation to the nation. It would have been wiser to have withdrawn civil disobedience, irrespective

of Government's action, in the interests of India and its future progress. Then the country would have been free to tackle more urgent problems. We could have settled our differences, gained strength and chalked out a constructive programme which would have raised the status of the country in the eyes of the world.....The Poona Conference results are not acceptable to the Government, and I am afraid, also to the people. So far as the Muslims are concerned we are determined to close up our ranks and refuse to be pulled either way. We would march on straight to the goal before us.'

In a press statement, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.L.A., of the Non-Brahmin Party, stated:—

' His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to refuse to see Mr. Gandhi and his second request has also been turned down. This was not unexpected.....I fancy that civil disobedience will not be resumed on August 1st. A direct vote on that point was clearly evaded by Mr. Aney the acting President The Non-Brahmin Party of Bombay has always remained outside Congress politics and activities and will not take part in civil disobedience if it is revived again..... I therefore advise all the members of the Non-Brahmin Party and Non-Brahmins in general to stick to lawful method of constitutional agitation whatever turn political activities may take in future.'

5. It is significant that Congress delegates to the Conference, who might have been expected to ventilate their views, have been remarkably reticent about its decisions. This reticence may be due partly to the repeated warnings of Mr. Aney that the proceedings of the Conference were secret and partly to a sense of loyalty to Mr. Gandhi, but more probably, so far as some at least of them are concerned, to the reflection that they allowed themselves to be jockeyed into an entirely false position.

6. Practically the whole of the Nationalist press denounced the decisions of the Conference and commented on Mr. Gandhi's conduct in most caustic terms. It was felt that his attitude was prompted by a desire to re-capture the unchallenged leadership of the Congress which he realised had been slipping from his grasp. ' Nationalism is dead. Gandhism has triumphed. The Poona Conference has sacrificed the interests of the nation to the whims of Gandhiji' remarked one paper, while another caustically observed : ' that the time had come for Mr. Gandhi to be told on all sides that if his movement is to be carried on like this, people do not want the Swaraj his movement aims at bringing.' (Some extracts from the more important newspapers of this Presidency, chronologically arranged, illustrating the reactions to the Poona decisions are attached as Appendix ' A '.)

7. The release from Nagpur of Mr. Aney's statement of the 22nd July, which followed closely the lines foreshadowed by Mr. Gandhi in a press interview before his departure from Poona on the 19th July provided the

press with a further opportunity of denouncing the Congress leadership, and there was scarcely a newspaper of any consequence which did not criticise or condemn then the new Congress policy. A feature of this denunciation was the outspoken manner in which Mr. Gandhi was attacked, and it is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that until recently there was hardly a paper that had the courage to hint at any imperfections in Mr. Gandhi's leadership. (Extracts from newspapers showing the reception accorded to Mr. Aney's statement are attached as Appendix ' B').

8. Apart from the observations made above, there is perhaps no better testimony of the extent to which Mr. Gandhi personally and his creed of civil disobedience, have lost ground generally than the almost entire lack of excitement about the proceedings which culminated in his imprisonment for one year. Compared with the Hartals and demonstrations which marked his arrest in January 1932, the extremely perfunctory Hartals observed in Bombay City and in a few district headquarter towns and the fact that in a large number of districts the events, passed almost unnoticed are symptomatic of the change in the general atmosphere. It is significant also that the Bombay Municipal Corporation successfully tided over three successive attempts on the 3rd August to secure the adjournment of its meeting.

9. It is not however to be supposed from the above estimate that recruits will not be forthcoming for a time to give effect to the new programme of individual civil disobedience and attempt to keep the movement alive in its more aggressive form, it seems probable however that such support will be almost confined to Mr. Gandhi's personal adherents and to the more sentimental sections of the Gujarati community, including particularly women. It seems clear that the more stable and more politically minded elements of all communities are only anxious to obtain freedom of action and, unless any fresh disturbing cause should arise, will stand aloof from any programme which keeps them out of the political field.

Bombay Special

(Sd.) R. M. M.

11th August,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 55]

No answer seems necessary to Mr. Gandhi's present communication.

It will be observed that he was ready as a State prisoner, and would apparently be ready now, to accept and abide by the conditions imposed by Government on his untouchability work. These were almost exactly the conditions embodied in clauses (2), (3) and (4) of the order under section 4

which he declared it to be his duty to disobey, while clause (1) of that order merely had the effect of substituting Poona City municipal limits for Yeravda Prison as the area to which his liberties were restricted.

It might therefore be relevant to inform him, when a final reply to his request for facilities in jail is being issued, that if he desires liberty for Harijan work on the same conditions which he is prepared to accept in jail, Government are quite ready to give him that liberty within Poona City municipal limits on condition that his activities ' have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly limited to removal of untouchability."

R. M. MAXWELL
11th August

H.M.

This is much the same as the suggestion of the Government of India in para. 4 (d) (6) of their telegram.

R. D. BELL
11th August

H. E. (P. S. G.)

Included in the main case for submission with the subsequent reference.

R. M. MAXWELL
12th August

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 61]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
14th August 1933

Dear Sir,

It is now noon of Monday, and I am yet without any answer to my request for resumption of Harijan work on the same terms as before my fast. This request was first conveyed on the 1st instant from the Central Prison at Ahmedabad and has since been thrice repeated.

The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If therefore I cannot have the permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment from that time, save water and salt. That is the only way I can fulfil my vow and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above. I do not want the proposed suspension of nourishment in any way to act as a pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance. As I have made it clear in my previous correspondence, and as the Government of India have admitted, permission to render that service is implied in the Yeravda Pact to which the British Government is consenting party, in so far as its consent was necessary.

Therefore I do indeed want the permission, but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 57]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 3958
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, 14th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 547, dated the 10th August 1933, forwarding a letter of the same date addressed to Government by Mr. Gandhi, I am directed to request that Mr. Gandhi may be informed that he is permitted to have another interview with the editor of the *Harijan* newspaper under clause (1) of Rule 454 of the Bombay Jail Manual, in order to hand him manuscripts and give oral instructions. It should be explained to Mr. Gandhi that this permission is granted pending the issue of final orders on his general request for facilities to resume his anti-untouchability work.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

R. M. MAXWELL,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.
14th August.

Copy of Government of India's orders regarding Harijan Work, received on 3rd November 1932.

Government of India recognise, in view of considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters of October 18th and October 24th, that if he is to carry

out programme that he has set before himself in regard to the removal of un-touchability, which they had not before fully appreciated, it is necessary that he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability.

They also recognise that if Mr. Gandhi's activities in this matter are to be fully effective there can be no restrictions on publicity.

As they do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with problem of untouchability, they are removing all restrictions on visitors, correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words ' have no reference to Civil Disobedience and are strictly limited to removal of untouchability.'

They note that Mr. Gandhi contemplates presence of officials at interviews and inspection then and there of correspondence, should Government at any time consider that such procedure is desirable.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

14th August 1933

Dear Sir,

It is now noon of Monday, and I am yet without any answer to my request for resumption of Harijan work *on the same terms as before my fast*. This request was first conveyed on the 1st instant from the Central Prison at Ahmedabad and has since been twice repeated.

The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If therefore I cannot have the permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment from that time, save water and salt. That is the only way I can fulfil my vow and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above. I do not want the proposed suspension of nourishment in any way to act as a pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance. As I have made it clear in my previous correspondence, and as the Government of India have admitted, permission to render that service is implied in the Yeravda Pact to which the British Government is consenting party, in so far as its consent was necessary. Therefore I do indeed want the permission, but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Secretary to Government,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 99-101]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

15th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

With reference to the two communications received by you from Government, I beg to state as follows :—

(1) As to the reply to my letter of the 10th instant addressed to the Government, whilst I am thankful for the permission to hand over the *Harijan* manuscript to the Acting Editor and give instructions, this permission does not meet immediate requirements. It is difficult without being in touch with correspondence from day to day to write usefully for the *Harijan*. Again to be in touch with the correspondence on untouchability is just as urgent as editing the *Harijan*. For instance a difficult experiment under my supervision is being carried on in connection with a Harijan School. I have to be in contact with the teacher, if the school is to be a success. I have put some Ashram girls and boys in a Harijan boarding house, an experiment probably the first of its kind. I cannot go on without my constant attention. This was started on the eve of my arrest. These are but two out of the many instances I can cite, of matters demanding my personal attention.

The least therefore that I require at once is—

- (a) the delivery of all the correspondence in your possession with permission to reply to so much of it as may have any connection with untouchability;
- (b) access to, and disposal of, all correspondence received at the *Harijan* office;
- (c) access to newspapers received by you or the *Harijan* office, so as to enable me to deal with points on untouchability that may have been discussed in those papers.

If the permission is given on these three matters, pending final orders on my request, I shall not need to fast from tomorrow noon, as stated in my letter to Government yesterday. If it can be obtained in the course of the day, I would like to see Kakasaheb Kalelkar or Sjt. Anand Hingorani today. I should be able then to hand over some manuscript to go on with.

(2) What I have said above perhaps answers the Government's letter regarding the disposal of my correspondence in your possession. I have no desire to receive a fortnightly letter under the classification rules. The bulk of my correspondence is likely to have a bearing on untouchability and would demand my personal attention or instructions. If the correspondence is handed to me I would gladly return that which may not pertain to untouchability. There are likely to be letters concerning business affairs. I should take the Government instructions regarding such letters. The fact

of the matter is that I have many public activities besides the political, and as I told you personally this morning, in my opinion the just way to deal with me is, after ensuring my strict abstention from participation directly or indirectly in civil disobedience, to give me the facilities mentioned in my letter to you of the 5th inst.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
15th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

Since there is no reply to the request contained in my letter of yesterday, my fast begins from noon today as already intimated in my letter. Will you therefore kindly give the necessary orders for *not* sending the goats to be milked, and *not* sending to the market for sweet and sour limes.

Though the fast begins, if there is no objection, kindly telephone to Kaka-saheb Kalelkar to come to the prison today as early as he can, so as to enable me to hand him the manuscript for *Harijan*, which is already prepared and to give him instructions.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 103]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
16th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

I see that I have hastily and stupidly told you to restore the goats to me. It shows how disinclined I am to starve. But on reading the notes of the orders you have left with me, they are so far short of the original orders of the Government of India and of my requirements that I must not be precipitate in breaking the fast. If the Government wish to go back upon those orders I shall be sorry, but I may not work under the new orders which are a manifest departure from the original and which seem to me to be grudgingly given. I observe that you cannot even let me have the letters already in your possession and to hand the manuscript to the acting editor for this week's *Harijan*. It pains me to have to write this letter, but it will give much greater pain if I break the fast now and have to enter upon a prolonged controversy with the Government on many matters that need elucidation. I miss Government response to the meticulous care with which I am endeavouring to observe jail discipline and as a prisoner tender cooperation which as a citizen outside prison walls I consider it a religious

duty to withhold. I have read your notes three times and each reading has increased my grief to discover that Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do Harijan work without let or hindrance. Much therefore as I am disinclined to continue the fast, I feel that I must go through the agony if I cannot serve the Harijan cause without the tremendous handicap which it seems to me the orders conveyed by you put upon it.

Will you therefore please withdraw the milk and the fruit already received by me, and accept my apology for having hurriedly told you that I would break the fast.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), p. 67]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
15th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

With reference to the two communications received by you from Government, I beg to state as follows :—

(1) As to the reply to my letter of the 10th inst. addressed to the Government, whilst I am thankful for the permission to hand over the *Harijan* manuscript to the Acting Editor and give instructions, this permission does not meet immediate requirements. It is difficult without being in touch with correspondence from day to day to write usefully for the *Harijan*. Again to be in touch with the correspondence on untouchability is just as urgent as editing, the *Harijan*. For instance a difficult experiment under my supervision is being carried on in connection with a Harijan school. I have to be in contact with the teacher, if the school is to be a success. I have put some Ashram girls and boys in a Harijan boarding house, an experiment probably the first of its kind. It cannot go on without my constant attention. This was started on the eve of my arrest. These are but two out of the many instances I can cite of matters demanding my personal attention.

The least therefore that I require at once is—

- (a) the delivery of all the correspondence in your possession with permission to reply to so much of it as may have any connection with untouchability;
- (b) access to and disposal of, all correspondence received at the " Harijan " office;
- (c) access to newspapers received by you or the " Harijan " office, so as to enable me to deal with points on untouchability that may have been discussed in those papers.

If the permission is given on these three matters, pending final orders on my all request, I shall not need to fast from tomorrow noon, as stated in my

letter to Government yesterday. If it can be obtained in the course of the day, I would like to see Kakasaheb Kalelkar or Sjt. Anand Hingorani today. I should be able then to hand over some manuscript to go on with.

(2) What I have said above perhaps answers the Government letter regarding the disposal of my correspondence in your possession. I have no desire to receive a fortnightly letter under the classification rules. The bulk of my correspondence is likely to have a bearing on untouchability and would demand my personal attention or instructions. If the correspondence is handed to me I would gladly return that which may not pertain to untouchability. There are likely to be letters concerning business affairs. I should take the Government instructions regarding such letters. The fact of the matter is that I have many public activities beside the political, and as I told you personally this morning, in my opinion the just way to deal with me is, after ensuring strict abstention from participation directly or indirectly in civil disobedience, to give me the facilities mentioned in my letter to you of the 5th instant.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 1]

Mr. Gandhi may be the subject of a debate any time in the Legislative Council now. I have already asked Secretary to have a note prepared giving an account of developments connected with the present situation specially of the requests made by Mr. Gandhi from time to time between the date of the October pact (1932) and his release and of his threats to fast in that interval.

2. In addition to that note I shall require copies of various documents. I shall ask for those from time to time as they occur to me. Meantime office should prepare copies of the following :—

(1) Sir H. Haig's speech in the assembly at the time Mr. Gandhi began his (September/October) fast. The important portion is that in which he declared that Government could not allow their decisions to be forced by threats of this time (Mr. Gandhi usually imposes a time limit on Government).

(2) Mr. Gandhi's announcement and his message to the Government of India before he began his last fast.

(3) His announcement immediately after release.

(4) Government communique regarding his arrest.

(5) All Mr. Gandhi's letters regarding his present request since his arrest.

(6) In his last letter Mr. Gandhi says that Harijan work is so much a part of his being that he cannot live without it. He has frequently said the same about C.D.O. in announcements, interviews and published letters.

I want a few specimens preferably those in which the language is nearly the same as those in his last about Harijan work.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL,
(Home Member)
16th August 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40), (11)-B, p. 73]

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency
Poona, 16th August 1933

My dear Maxwell,

I herewith enclose the letters, one from Gandhi announcing the commencement of the threatened fast, and the other from Martin. I entirely agree with Martin that as Gandhi refused the interview sanctioned by Government and as he has since deliberately broken prison rules, his request to see Kalelkar today should be refused.

May I request that orders on this point be communicated to me as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) DOYLE
Inspector-General of Prisons

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40), (11)-B, p. 75]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
16th August 1933

My dear Doyle,

I am forwarding herewith a letter, I have just received from Gandhi— Kaka Kalelkar came to the prison yesterday, but Gandhi said he couldn't see him, as he couldn't do anything till he heard from Government; today he wants to see him. My own view is that he has done this deliberately so that he may tell Kalelkar he has started a fast and thus publish it to the outside world. I recommend that this interview be refused.

He has broken prison rules by starting a fast; therefore he should not get an interview. Government has already sanctioned this interview. May I please have an *immediate reply* as to whether Kalelkar should be called or not.

He is quite fit, a few days fast will do him no harm.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. V. MARTIN
12 Noon

Lieut Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons
Yeravda, 16th August 1933

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40), (11)-B, p. 78]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

16th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

Since there is no reply to the request contained in my letter of yesterday, my fast begins from noon today as already intimated in my letter. Will you therefore kindly give the necessary orders for *not* sending the goats to be milked, and *not* sending to the market for sweet and sour limes.

Though the fast begins, if there is no objection, kindly telephone to Kaka-saheb Kalelkar to come to the prison today as early as he can, so as to enable me to hand him the manuscript for *Harijan*, which is already prepared and to give him instructions.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40), (11)-B, p. 79]

Note.—It has been decided, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that the following concessions should be allowed to Mr. Gandhi in connection with his anti-untouchability work only :—

- (1) to receive newspapers and periodicals but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the press whether with press correspondents or others;
- (2) to see not more than two visitors a day;
- (3) to be allowed to send instructions or contributions to the editor of the *Harijan* newspaper three times a week and a limited number of letters to other correspondents;
- (4) to have at his disposal a convict typist and such books, newspapers, etc. as are needed for Harijan work.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 81]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 3982

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 16th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Bombay.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. S.D. 3958, dated the 14th August 1933, I am directed to request that the following orders may be communicated to Mr. Gandhi regarding his request for facilities to resume his anti-untouchability work.

2. Government have decided to allow him the following concessions for anti-untouchability work only :—

- (1) to receive newspapers and periodicals but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the press whether with press correspondents or others;
- (2) to see not more than two visitors a day;
- (3) to be allowed to send instructions or contributions to the editor of the *Harijan* three times a week and a limited number of letters to other correspondents;
- (4) to have at his disposal a convict typist and such books, newspapers etc., as are needed for *Harijan* work.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. M. MAXWELL,
16th August

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 85]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
16th August 1933

Dear Col Martin,

I see that I have hastily and stupidly told you to restore the goats to me. It shows how disinclined I am to starve, but on reading the notes of orders you have left with me, they are so far short of the original orders of the Government of India and of my requirements that I must not be precipitate in breaking my fast. If Government wish to go back upon these orders, I shall be sorry, but I may not work under the new orders which are a manifest departure from the original and which seem to me to be grudgingly given. I observe you cannot even let me have the letters already in your possession and to hand the manuscript to the acting editor for this week's *Harijan*. It pains me to have to write this letter, but it will give me much greater pain if

I break the fast now and have to enter upon a prolonged controversy with Government on many matters that need elucidation. I miss Government's response to the meticulous care with which I am endeavouring to observe the jail discipline and, as a prisoner, tender co-operation which as a citizen outside the prison walls I consider it a religious duty to withhold. I have read your notes three times and each reading has increased my grief to discover that Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do Harijan work without let or hindrance. Much, therefore, as I am inclined to continue the fast, I feel I must go through the agony if I cannot serve the Harijan cause without tremendous handicap which, it seems to me, the orders conveyed by you put upon it. Will you, therefore, please withdraw the milk and fruit already received by me and accept my apology for having hurriedly told you that I would break the fast.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[H. D, (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 91]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
17th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

With reference to our conversation of this morning, before I can break my fast the following points require to be settled :—

- (1) I should see Kakasaheb Kalelkar or Sjt. Anand Hingorani before 12 o'clock today for handing manuscript and giving instructions.
- (2) All the letters and newspapers in your possession should be handed to me, subject to the condition mentioned in my letter of 15th instant.
- (3) The notes you showed me bind me to the non-publication of interviews in the press. This is a physical impossibility, as I can have no control over persons who would see me. It is not contemplated that I would only see those who would be subject to my discipline. I would be seeing hot opponents, perhaps more often than friends.
- (4) The notes contemplate two visitors a day. I can never conduct the movement if I am thus restricted. I have to see visitors as they come if I am to influence them.
- (5) As a journalist of 29 years standing I can say that restriction as to the sending of instructions to the editor three times per week is wholly unworkable, and it is not clear whether the editor or editors are to see me personally or not.
- (6) The notes contemplate a limited number of letters to other correspondents. I do not know what the Government have in mind by the term 'limited'. I had to send, during the last dispensation, on an average something like thirty letters a day.

(7) There is no mention in the notes about letters. I take it that it is an unintended omission and that I shall have all the letters and newspapers, whether received by you or the *Harijan* office, my work on them being strictly confined to untouchability. You will now see what a gulf exists between my requirements and the concessions the Government are prepared to grant. If the Government would permit me to handle the tremendous movement of anti-untouchability affecting millions of human beings, they should give full effect to the Government of India's orders under the last dispensation. There was in them a frank recognition of my submission and therefore a full response to it. I miss it altogether in the notes. So far as I am aware I have given no cause whatsoever, for change of policy. If permission is given as requested by me, I can give my absolute assurance that I shall take no undue advantage of it, I shall confine myself strictly to anti-untouchability work and shall endeavour to the best of my ability to consult the convenience of the prison staff.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

P.S.—I take it that the convict typist is also a shorthand typist, and that if everything is satisfactorily settled I shall have the assistance as before of Sjt. Mahadev Dcsai and Chhaganlal Joshi.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 93]

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. S.D. 3994

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Poona, 17th August 1933

Among the points raised in Mr. Gandhi's letter of this morning, which Martin forwarded through you with his letter herewith returned, there are some which are sufficiently covered by the orders already issued, as explained below. Mr. Gandhi may be allowed to avail himself of all or any of the concessions which have been sanctioned so long as his state of health permits :—

(1) His request to see Kalelkar or Hingorani in connection with the editing of the *Harijan*.

He is not debarred from seeing these persons or any other person chosen to edit the *Harijan* subject to the prescribed maximum of two visitors daily for all purposes.

(2) His request to receive letters and newspapers already delivered at the jail but withheld from him pending orders.

The Government of India have agreed that Mr. Gandhi may be allowed to receive all correspondence *relating exclusively to untouchability*. Letters and newspapers already received since the commencement of his present term of imprisonment may therefore be delivered to him after censorship,

and future correspondence may be similarly dealt with. You may, if necessary, propose such extra staff as may be required for this censorship. In the meanwhile a beginning should be made in delivering to him, after scrutiny, the accumulated correspondence. In doing so, newspapers may be dealt with on the same lines as before.

(3) The number of letters which he is allowed to send to other correspondents (i.e. in addition to the transmission of matter three times a week to the Editor of the *Harijan*) is subject to further orders, but for the present two letters a day would not be regarded as unreasonable.

As regards interviews while Mr. Gandhi is fasting, you may use your discretion in deciding where they should take place. For the present two interviews a day may be allowed, but Mr. Gandhi should be warned that if his fast continues interviews may have to be curtailed in the interests of his health.

A copy of Mr. Gandhi's letter of yesterday evening, which is referred to at the beginning of Martin's letter, is enclosed herewith for your information.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
17th August

Lt.-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 87]

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency
Poona, 17th August 1933

My Dear Maxwell,

I forward for orders correspondence from Yeravda, first received—10-45 a.m.

Yours sincerely,

E. E. DOYLE

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 105-107]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
17th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

With reference to our conversation of this morning, before I can break my fast the following points require to be settled :—

(1) I should see Kakasaheb Kalelkar or Sjt. Anand Hingorani before 12 o'clock today for handing manuscript and giving instructions.

(2) All the letters and newspapers in your possession should be handed to me, subject to the condition mentioned in my letter of 15th instant.

(3) The notes you showed me bind me to the non-publication of interviews in the press. This is a physical impossibility as I can have no control over persons who would see me. It is not contemplated that I would only see those who would be subject to my discipline. I would be seeing lot of opponents, perhaps more often than friends.

(4) The notes contemplate two visitors a day. I can never conduct the movement if I am thus restricted. I have to see visitors as they come if I am to influence them.

(5) As a journalist of 29 years standing I can say that restriction as to the sending of instructions to the editor three times per week is wholly unworkable, and it is not clear whether the editor or editors are to see me personally or not.

(6) The notes contemplate a limited number of letters to other correspondents. I do not know what the Government have in mind by the term 'limited'. I had to send, during the last dispensation, on an average something like thirty letters a day.

(7) There is no mention in the notes about letters. I take it that it is an unintended omission and that I shall have all the letters and newspapers, whether received by you or the *Harijan* office, my work on them being strictly confined to untouchability.

You will now see what a gulf exists between my requirements and the concessions the Government are prepared to grant. If the Government would permit me to handle the tremendous movement of anti-untouchability affecting millions of human beings, they should give full effect to the Government of India's orders under the last dispensation. There was in them a frank recognition of my submission and therefore a full response to it. I miss it altogether in the notes. So far as I am aware I have given no cause whatever for change, of policy. If permission is given as requested by me, I can give my absolute assurance that I shall take no undue advantage of it, I shall confine myself strictly to anti-untouchability work and shall endeavour to the best of my ability to consult the convenience of the prison staff.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

P.S.—I take it that the convict typist is also a shorthand typist, and that if everything is satisfactorily settled I shall have the assistance as before of Sjt. Mahadev Desai and Chhaganlal Joshi.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 121]

Please put up the paper in which arrangements were discussed for keeping Vallabhbhai Patel at the Sassoon Hospital, including the reports of the D. M. D. S. P. (?) regarding the guarding arrangements.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
18th August
(H. Secretary)

H. D. (Special),

Please see the letters from the Civil Surgeon, Poona, and from the Inspector-General of Police at p. 39 and 41-44 respectively of the loose papers (regarding Vallabhbhai Patel) below file II.

A letter (Secret) should be addressed to the Surgeon-General explaining the proposals on Gandhi and asking that a room at the Sassoon Hospital may be put at the disposal of the jail authorities whenever wanted (under the same arrangements as previously proposed for Vallabhbhai Patel). We should also ask that the inspector-General of Prisons may be authorised to arrange the details directly with the Civil Surgeon, as the removal may have to take place at short notice.

It is also necessary to inform the D. M. of the proposed arrangements. Secretary, G. D., should see the draft before issue.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
18th August
(H. Secretary)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B. p. 187]

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency
Poona, 18th August 1933

My Dear Maxwell,

Please refer to paragraph 2 of your D. O. Letter No. S.D. 3994, dated the 17th August 1933. Martin informs me that he has started wading through the pile of correspondence that has accumulated for Gandhi since his admission. Martin is dealing with those letters in English, while the Jailor censors, as far as he can, those in the vernacular.

2. I understand the vernacular letters run into hundreds, while thirty to fifty letters in English, is an average day's post.

3. You will thus see that it is absolutely necessary that extra staff is required if the censorship imposed is to be strictly carried out and at the same time that the Superintendent and Jailor do their legitimate jail duties.

4. I propose that two reliable persons be appointed for this duty. One to deal with, and be responsible for, all letters and correspondence in English, the other to deal similarly with Gandhi's vernacular correspondence.

5. I regret there are no jail officers available who could be detailed for this duty.

6. In this connection, might I suggest, for the consideration of Government, that these persons be authorised to conduct, under the orders of the Superintendent, the interviews now permitted to 'A' Class prisoner, Gandhi. If agreed to, this would relieve the jail staff, and enable Martin and his jailor to attend to their ordinary routine duties, and would, so to speak 'round off' the duties of the official censors.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency

To

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., CLE., M.A. (Oxon.),
Secretary to Government, Poona.

This must be taken up at once. I think two C. I. D. officers would be best if they could be spared (on deputation of course). We may consult C. I. D. Perhaps Bombay could supply a Hindi-knowing man if Poona cannot.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
18th August

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, pp. 201-202]

It is for consideration whether G. R. No. S.D. 4054 of the 21st August suspending unconditionally, with effect from that date and until further orders, the execution of the sentence of six months' simple imprisonment passed upon Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi on the 8th August should now be cancelled or whether we should wait until she shows signs of undesirable activity.

2. Mr. Gandhi is said to have told some Congress workers in Poona recently in the course of a discussion on the question of C. D. O. that it was rather purgatory for him to remain outside the jail when his associates, friends and inmates of his family were in jail but that Kasturba did not like to remain outside the jail and that she might go in again shortly (A). The object of her release was to enable her to nurse Mr. Gandhi, if required, during his fast. The latter has not recovered to a great extent from the effects of his fast and is said to have left Ahmedabad yesterday for Wardha via Bombay. It appears from the *Times of India* cutting put up below that when Mr. Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad on the 20th, Mrs. Gandhi did not accompany him

and she is probably still in Bombay. A report in the *Free Press* of today however says that she is expected to interview Mr. Devidas Gandhi shortly in the Multan Central Jail.

For orders.

Secretary,

Note.—The *Times of India* of 23rd September reports that she accompanied Mr. Gandhi to Wardha.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, pp. 99-101]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 3995

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 18th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

I am directed to request that Mr. Gandhi may be informed as follows with reference to the points raised in his letter of the 17th August addressed to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison (copy enclosed) :—

(1) and (5). He is not debarred from seeing Messrs. Kalelkar or Hingorani or the editor of the *Harijan* among other visitors, so long as the limit of two visitors a day for all purposes is not exceeded.

(2) and (7). Instructions have already been issued to deliver to Mr. Gandhi, after necessary censorship all letters relating to untouchability including those already received. He is also allowed the use of newspapers addressed or brought to him for untouchability work only.

(3) The orders bind him not to give interviews for the purpose of publication and in particular they debar interviews with press correspondents.

(6) The number of letters which he is allowed to send to other correspondents (in addition to the transmission of matter three times a week to the Editor of the *Harijan*) will be limited to five daily.

2. With reference to the postscript of his letter, Mr. Gandhi should be informed that he will be given a list of convicts from whom he can select a typist but that the list will not include Chhaganlal Joshi.

3. Mr. Gandhi should also be informed that if even now he is willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitement Government are prepared to set him at liberty at once and remit the sentence so that he can devote himself to the cause of social reform.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.

18th August.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, pp 103-104]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 4004

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 18th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I am directed to request that a report may be obtained from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, every morning and forwarded to Government with the least possible delay stating whether Mr. Gandhi is continuing his fast and what his present condition appears to be. It is the intention of Government to transfer Mr. Gandhi to a hospital before the danger point of the fast is reached and I am to ask you to consider and let Government have your Views as to the most convenient stage for this transfer. I am to point out that, while it is not the intention of Government to separate Mr. Mahadev Desai from Mr. Gandhi prior to Mr. Gandhi's removal from jail, there would be no objection to transferring Mr. Mahadev Desai as soon as the removal takes place. From this point of view it may be of advantage to move Mr. Gandhi at an earlier rather than at a later stage of the fast, as he would then be away from Mr. Mahadev Desai's influence.

2. I am to suggest that as on the last occasion it may help to lessen the responsibility of the jail authorities and to prevent alarmist rumours from spreading among the public if an outside medical practitioner were allowed to visit Mr. Gandhi during his fast in a consulting capacity. It is suggested that Dr. Gilder, who is now in Poona, should be the person selected for this purpose and I am to request you to report in consultation with the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, whether you see any objection to this course.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 109]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 567 of 1933
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 18th August 1933

From

Lt-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency;

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.

Sir,

With reference to Government, H. D. letter No. S.D. 4004, dated 18th August 1933, I have the honour to inform you that I have directed the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison to send you direct, a copy to this office, a report as required in paragraph 1 of your letter.

2. I consider the transfer should take place as soon as it is considered necessary to employ expert nurse. This means at a stage when though the danger point has not been reached, it is inadvisable for the person concerned to exert himself. I request that suitable accommodation be arranged.

3. The orders in respect of the transfer of the ' B ' Class prisoner is noted, and will be put into effect at the time ordered.

*4. I have consulted the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, and we agree that the services of Dr. Gilder, M.D., in a consulting capacity would be welcome, and would request that he be placed in direct communication with me.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

*Note.—Secretary has told Mr. Gandhi's nephew Mathuradas Tricumdas that he may communicate the message to Dr. Gilder.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

As desired by Secretary, the weekly letters to the Government of India from the 7th December 1932, to the 12th May 1933, indicating the general attitude and line of action adopted by Mr. Gandhi after his September fast and the Poona Pact up to his release on the 8th May 1933, have been extracted from the original file and are put up herewith in File marked ' A '.

2. An abstract has also been prepared (marked ' C') from the above letters showing the requests for special facilities with the accompaniment, in some cases of threats to fast made by Mr. Gandhi in the interval referred to.

3. There was only one important demand for special privileges made by Mr. Gandhi between January and October 1932—in regard to seeing prisoners in the Yeravda Jail. Copies of two letters in this connection are put up marked ' B'.

4. Copies of other papers required by H. M. are put up in the order indicated in H. M.'s minute.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.
18th August
(H. Secretary)

H. M.,
Thanks,
These papers are not required now.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL,
23rd August
(H. Member)

This file can perhaps be closed now, after addition of any Gandhi letters received after it was compiled. It would be useful to have an index of contents at the beginning. We may want this sort of thing for reference at any time.

I suppose a separate collection is being made of any public statements of Gandhi's after his release (such as the attached).

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
28th August.
(H. Secretary).

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 177]

TELEGRAM (CONFIDENTIAL)

No. 700-121 of 23rd August 1933

To

Home, Simla.
Referred to Secretary of State, London.

Clear-the-Line.

In continuation of my telegram No. 120 of today Gandhi on release was removed to Parnakuti at about 4 p.m. today. Announcement will be made in Legislative Council this afternoon.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.
23rd August.
(H. Secretary).

For approval.

H.M.

(Sd.) R. D. BELL,
(Home Member).

Copies to:—

H. E. (P. S. G.),
H. M.

H. D. (Special),

A draft letter to the Surgeon-General is put up for approval. Copies are being endorsed to the I. G. of Prisons, the I. G. of Police, the Commissioner

C. D., the D. M., Poona and the Secretary, G. D. The I. G. of Police will be asked later, if necessary, to make arrangements for guarding the room on lines of those suggested in the case of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.

2. Secretary, G. D. may see the draft before issue as directed by Secretary.

Seen.

(Sd.),

Secretary, G. D.

19th August.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 113]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

19th August 1933

Dear Sir,

Col. Martin has kindly given me a copy of your reply to my letter of the 17th instant addressed to him. I regret to observe that your reply realises my worst fears. Where I thought there was a possibility of a more favourable construction on some of the points, your reply now makes it clear that there was no warrant for any such construction. It therefore becomes unnecessary for me to take up the various points in your letter.

But I have now understood through Mr. Andrews that the difficulty in the way of Government carrying out the orders of the Government of India to which I have already referred is that instead of being a State prisoner I am now a convicted prisoner. If that be the cause for a radical departure from a policy explicitly laid down by the Government not by way of concession, but as the Government of India have admitted, because it is necessary that he " (I) should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability," " there being no restrictions on publicity," I cannot understand now what was considered to be necessary becomes any the less necessary now, by reason of my being a convicted prisoner. Just as Government have recognised my physical wants and satisfied them inspite of my being a convict, even so I venture to submit to my spiritual wants regarding untouchability demand full recognition from Government.

The last paragraph of your letter grieves me. The reminder contained in it comes as an added injury to my wounded soul, for I have stated to Government more than once that Civil Disobedience under circumstances like the present is a part of my creed. But I recognise that what I consider as

a perfectly lawful and moral activity, Government consider as unlawful and probably even immoral. I must therefore be content to be their prisoner not merely for the natural term of the present confinement, but for such time as India comes to her own if I live long enough to see that day—if, that is to say, there is any possibility still left of Government fulfilling their solemn obligation and my coming safely out of the ordeal through which I am going.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[*H. D, (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 117*]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 4028

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 19th August 1933

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

I am directed to request that Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, who is understood to be at present confined in Ahmedabad Central Prison, may be transferred as soon as possible to Yeravda Central Prison, in order to be available in case she is needed in connection with Mr. Gandhi's hunger-strike.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.

19th August.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 119]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 444/C of 1933
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 19th August 1933

From

Lt.-Col. R. V. Martin, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the daily report on " A " Class prisoner, M. K. Gandhi for 19th August 1933, morning 8-30 a.m.

General condition	Good.
Pulse	77 per minute.
Temperature	97.2
Weight	96½ lbs.
Urine examination	Nothing abnormal.
Tongue	Clean.

No jaundice.

Is suffering from nausea and has vomited twice, yesterday afternoon and again this morning.

I consider his condition is quite satisfactory.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. V. MARTIN, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 109]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
19th August 1933

Dear Sir,

Col. Martin has kindly given me a copy of your reply to my letter of the 17th instant addressed to him. I regret to observe that your reply realises my

worst fears. Where I thought there was a possibility of a more favourable construction on some of the points, your reply now makes it clear that there was no warrant for any such construction. It therefore becomes unnecessary for me to take up the various points in your letter.

But I have now understood through Mr. Andrews that the difficulty in the way of Government carrying out the orders of the Government of India to which I have already referred is that instead of being a State Prisoner I am now a convicted prisoner. If that be the cause for a radical departure from a policy explicitly laid down by the Government, not by way of concession, but as the Government of India have admitted, " because it is necessary that he (I) should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability", " there being no restrictions on publicity ", I cannot understand how what was considered to be necessary for me becomes any the less necessary now, by reason of my being a convicted prisoner, just as Government have recognised my physical wants and satisfied them in spite of my being a convict, even so I venture to submit that my spiritual wants regarding untouchability demand full recognition from Government.

The last paragraph of your letter grieves me. The reminder contained in it comes as an added injury to my wounded soul, for I have stated to Government more than once that civil disobedience under circumstances like the present is a part of my creed. But I recognise that what I consider as a perfectly lawful and moral activity, Government consider as unlawful and probably even immoral. I must therefore be content to be their prisoner not merely for the natural term of the present confinement, but for such time as India comes to her own if I live long enough to see that day if, that is to say, there is any possibility still left of Government fulfilling their solemn obligation and my coming safely out of the ordeal through which I am going.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 113]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
19th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

For the last three or four days you have been sending me mutilated copies of the *Times of India*, I have surmised that the mutilations are due to references to my fast. If my surmise is correct, I venture to think the mutilation is not fair to me. If anything has been said by or on behalf of Government, I should at least know what it is, so that I could make my submission

to the Government if there was anything that I might consider unfair in the statements appearing in the press. In fairness to all concerned, I would suggest that the full text of the correspondence beginning from my letter of the 29th September 1932, addressed to Major Bhandari, with reference to my request for doing Harijan work, should be published, if it has not already been done.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 115-117]

**Extract from Gandhi's statements about civil disobedience
(vide paragraph 2 (6) of H. M.'s Minute).**

HINDUSTAN TIMES, dated the 5th July 1933

In the course of his reply to Mr. Asaf Ali's open letter demanding suspension of civil disobedience and fundamental changes in the Congress policy, Mahatma Gandhi says:

".....I want you, however, to understand my fundamental difficulty which constitutes also my limitation. Non-violence for me is not a mere experiment. It is a part of my life, and the whole of the creed of *Satyagraha*, non-co-operation, civil disobedience and I are necessary deductions from the fundamental proposition that non-violence is the law of life for human beings. For me it is both a means and an end, and I am more than ever convinced that in the complex situation that faces India there is no other way of gaining real freedom. In my applying my mind to the present situation, I must, therefore, test everything in terms of non-violence."—A.P.I.

STATESMAN, dated the 26th July 1933

Mr. Gandhi states that he has been led to take such a step " on the eve of my embarking upon what is to me a fresh and sacred mission in life, because hundreds or thousands who took part in the struggle have lost their all."

Asked what were the reasons for taking such serious steps, Mr. Gandhi said : ".....I felt that on the eve of my embarking upon what is to me a fresh and sacred mission in life I should invite the fellow workers of the Ashram to join me and give up for the time being the activities in which they have been engaged all these precious years. And I am glad to be able to say that not one of them had the slightest hesitation in believing that the time had come for the Ashram to make that sacrifice ".—A.P.I.

**Extract from the statement made by Mr. Gandhi at his trial at Poona
on the 4th August 1933**

" I have not only regarded it as my duty to offer civil disobedience but also to preach it to others."

" Being by nature from my childhood a confirmed believer in methods of non-violence I sought shelter in self-suffering such as might fall to my lot."

**Extract from an unpublished letter from Mr. Gandhi to Government
dated the 3rd August 1933**

" I gratefully observe that Government have kept Sjt. Mahadev Desai with me. He therefore desire me to say that civil disobedience is as much a life principle with him as with me and that he can no more refrain than I can from preaching or practising it."

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), p. 121]

Mr. Gandhi's contribution to the *Harijan* of the 26th August 1933 made immediately after his release on the 23rd *idem*.

The Breath of my Life

God's ways are inscrutable. The most unexpected event of my life has happened. I have been used to the most unexpected things in the course of a very long public life, but this is the most unexpected of all. What is now in store for me ? How I shall use this life out of prison, I do not know. But I must say this that whether in prison or outside prison, Harijan service will be always after my heart and will be the breath of life for me, more precious than the daily bread. I can live for some days at least without the daily bread, but, I cannot live without Harijan service for one single minute. It is a constant prayer to the Almighty that this blot of untouchability may be removed in its entirety from Hinduism and that the millions of caste-Hindus may see the Sun of Truth which shines upon us, if we would only remove the scales from our eyes, as I have repeatedly said in these columns. My life is a dedication to this cause and I shall consider no penance too great for the vindication of this Truth.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Parnakuti,
23rd August 1933,
5-30 p.m.

[H. D (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 147]

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

19th August 1933

Dear Col. Martin,

For the last three or four days you have been sending me mutilated copies of the *Times of India*. I have surmised that the mutilations are due to references to my fast. If my surmise is correct, I venture to think the mutilation is not fair to me. If any thing has been said by or on behalf of Government, I should at least know what it is, so that I could make my

submission to the Government if there was anything that I might consider unfair in the statements appearing in the press. In fairness to all concerned, I would suggest that the full text of the correspondence beginning from my letter of the 29th September 1932, addressed to Major Bhandari, with reference to my request for doing Harijan work should be published, if it has not already been done.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[H. D. (Spl Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 151]

The following is the condition of ' A ' Class prisoner, Mr. M. K. Gandhi :

This morning at Noon—

Temp. : 97-4, Pulse : 70, Respiration : 19, Weight: 94 lbs., Blood
Pressure : 160/105.

The patient had a fair night.

The general condition is fair.

Other remarks :

(Sd.) R. S. CANDY, Lt.-Col, I.M.S.,
Civil Surgeon, Poona.

The Sassoon Hospital
Poona, 21. VIII. 33.

To

R. M. Maxwell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 129]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 449 of 1933
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, dated 20th August 1933

From

Lt.-Col. R. S. Candy, I.M.S.,
Civil Surgeon, Poona,
and
Lt.-Col. R. V. Martin, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, Poona.

Sir,

We the undersigned have the honour to report that we have this morning examined ' A ' Class prisoner, M. K. Gandhi, and find ;

That during the past 24 hours a change for the worse has occurred.

He has lost 1½ lbs. in weight. Owing to nausea and vomiting his intake of water has diminished considerably, and this is reflected in some dryness of the tongue, smell of acetone in the breath, and shrunken face.

His present condition is now rather unsatisfactory.

Morning temperature	96°.6
Pulse	70
Weight	95 lbs.
Blood pressure	152/98
Urine	Nothing abnormal.

We consider the stage has not been reached for his transfer to a hospital to take place.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Sd.) R. S. CANDY, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Civil Surgeon, Poona.

(Sd.) R. V. MARTIN, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 139]

CONFIDENTIAL

D. O. No. S.D. 4051

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

Poona, 21st August 1933

With reference to your orders of yesterday to Inspector Rane regarding Mr. Gandhi's visitors while he is in custody at the Sassoon Hospital, I am to explain that Government have intimated that Dr. Gilder may visit Mr. Gandhi in a consulting capacity under the authority of the Civil Surgeon. In that case he will not count as one of Mr. Gandhi's two daily visitors. To save further references on the subject, it may be noted that any medical men admitted by the Civil Surgeon in their professional capacity may visit Mr. Gandhi without counting as ordinary visitors.

I am further to say that although the orders permit two interviews a day for untouchability purposes only it has been decided that personal friends or relatives, such as Reverend C. F. Andrews or Mr. Mathuradas Tricumdas, may be admitted to see Mr. Gandhi under this rule in place of the editor of the *Harijan* or any other person particularly connected with untouchability, i.e., the number of interviews will still be limited to two daily, but your Inspector need not think it necessary to stop the interview if it becomes personal in character so long of course as civil disobedience is not discussed.

I am to add that Mrs. Gandhi is being released today and that she may be allowed to visit Mr. Gandhi freely irrespective of the ordinary allowance of interviews.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL
20th August

G. A. Shillidy, Esq., C.I.E.,
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department, Poona.

CONFIDENTIAL

Demi-official No. S.D. 4052
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)
Poona, 21st August 1933

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Civil Surgeon, Poona.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 153]

CONFIDENTIAL

TELEGRAM

No. 720 : 118, of 21st August 1933

To

Home, Simla.

(Ref. to S. of S.).

Gandhi was removed to Sassoon Hospital yesterday and his general condition at noon today is reported to be fair. Mrs. Gandhi is being released today from Yeravda and permitted free access to Gandhi.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
21st August.

For approval, with today's report.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL

H.M.

H. S. (P. S. G.) (after issue)

(Sd.) R D. BELL,
21st August 1933
(H. Member)

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 157]

The following is the condition of ' A ' Class prisoner, Mr. M. K. Gandhi :

This morning at 9-30 a.m.—

Temp. : 97°, Pulse : 76, Respiration : 22, Weight — Blood pressure: 152/100.

The patient had a very fair night.

The general condition is fair.

Other remarks.—Weighing scale requires adjustment and change in weight will be recorded tomorrow.

The Sassoon Hospital,
Poona, 22nd August 1933.

(Sd.) R. S. CANDY,
Lieut-Colonel, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Poona.

To

R. M. Maxwell. Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government, Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 167]

The following is the condition of ' A ' Class prisoner, Mr. M. K. Gandhi :

This morning at 9-30 a.m.—

Temp. : 97°.8, Pulse : 72, Respiration : 22, Weight — Blood pressure : 170/100.

The patient had a fair night, disturbed by one vomit.

The general condition is now unsatisfactory. There has been a fall in weight in the last 24 hours of 2½ lbs. The blood pressure has risen appreciably.

Other remarks.—A confidential memo, will follow after a consultation has been, held.

(Sd.) R. S. CANDY
Lieut-Colonel, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Poona.

The Sassoon Hospital,
Poona, 23rd August 1933.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 173]

SECRET

Please draft orders, without date, ordering unconditional remission of the unexpired portion of Mr. Gandhi's sentence under section 401, and have them ready for signature at any time when required. Let me see the draft for approval first.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
21st August.

A draft Resolution is submitted for approval. The wording of the Resolution is based on the Order issued in the case of Mr. Gandhi in similar circumstances in 1924.

(Sd.),
Secretary.
21st August 1933.

Draft approved. Please have fair copies ready for my signature whenever required.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
21st August.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 123-29]

**Statement made by Mr. Gandhi in a press interview on the
25th August 1933—two days after his unconditional release
(on 23rd August 1933).**

INDIAN NEWS AGENCY TELEGRAMS

Poona, August 25. In the course of an interview to the press Mr. Gandhi stated, ' This time my discharge having come upon me unexpectedly, I confess that I have no knowledge whatsoever of how I would shape my movements after my convalescence is over. So I must repeat what I have said so often before, but this time with much greater force than before, that I shall be constantly praying for light and guidance. This much however I can say now, that I shall seek peace much more eagerly than imprisonment and a possible repetition of a fast. I shall therefore again use this unexpected freedom for the sake of exploring avenues to peace '.

To a question Mr. Gandhi stated that he was not in a position to say now what form this desire for peace would take and how he would seek peace though he did not rule out entirely the possibility of his seeking an interview with the Viceroy.

Mr. Gandhi at the outset thanked the jail and hospital staff for the great care with which they had been looking after him during the days of his fast. This discharge, he proceeded, was no matter of joy for him, possibly it was a matter of shame that he took his comrades to prison and came out himself by fasting.

Referring to statement made by Government regarding his fast, Mr. Gandhi stated that he had not been done justice in that. When he was given permission in September last to carry on the anti-untouchability campaign this was not because he was a State Prisoner, but because they recognised that it was justly due to him as long as they held him in their custody. The question of jail discipline was as pertinent then as today.

Proceeding Mr. Gandhi referred to a letter he wrote to the Government just after the Poona Pact was signed in September last protesting against the stopping of the facilities given to him to carry on anti-untouchability work in which he had stated that unless Government gave him the facilities for doing Harijan work without let or hindrance then life would not be worth living for him. In reply to this he got the following orders from the Government of India on November 3, 1932. ' Government of India recognise that in view of the considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters to them of October 18th and 24th that if he is to carry out the programme he has set before himself in regard to the removal of untouchability which they had not before fully appreciated, it is necessary that he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to the removal of untouchability. They also recognise that if Mr. Gandhi's activities in this matter are to be fully effective there can be no restriction on publicity. As they do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with the problem of untouchability they are removing all restrictions on visitors, correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly limited to the removal of untouchability. They note that Mr. Gandhi contemplates the presence of officials at interviews and inspection then there of correspondence should Government at any time consider such procedure as desirable '.

These orders, Mr. Gandhi proceeded were passed with the full knowledge of his requirements and Government had to face his request for doing Harijan work without let or hindrance whether he was taken as a State Prisoner or otherwise. The classification was wholly irrelevant to the issue. The sole issue was, his life and Harijan work in jail or no Harijan work in jail and his death and so long as he lived that would be the issue before himself, before the Government and before the public. If he was wrong in thinking that whether inside or outside prison, he should have the facilities for doing Harijan work which he had undertaken as a solemn pledge then his fast should be considered to be an impertinent action and should not count either with the Government or with the public. And if he was right, then his fast should be treated as a sacrificial seal.

Mr. Gandhi then proceeded to refute the charge that had been made against him that he devoted more of his time during his last freedom from jail for political work than for Harijan service. This he stated was a gross

misrepresentation of the fact which could be proved. He quoted some outstanding instances to show how Harijan service had claimed a large part of his time during those days and added that ill-became anyone, much more a Government official, to recklessly charge him with having done a thing which he had not done, and then to proceed to justify a procedure, which to his simple mind, appeared to be a gross and manifest breach of a promise deliberately made to him while a prisoner in the custody of Government.

Asked how he could wish to have two incompatible things, namely deliberate incarceration and complete freedom to carry on social work as ordinary citizen, Mr. Gandhi stated that these were not incompatible. He would be asking for incompatible things, if he had asked for permission to carry on civil disobedience from the prison. Replying to another question Mr. Gandhi replied that the concessions given by Government were not adequate for his purpose as still a great amount of work had to be done regarding untouchability. The political aspect of it was but a small part of it. What reformers had to do was to bring about a change of heart on the part of caste Hindus.

Mr. Gandhi also stated in reply to another question that he would side with Government in resisting the request for such facilities if made by another prisoner even if he was a party to the Poona Pact, because he was the only representative present at the second Round Table Conference when he had made the declaration that he would resist with his life separate electorates for the depressed classes. The Poona Pact was a sequel to this.

Mr. Gandhi also revealed in the course of the interview that this last fast of his caused him considerable physical agony as he was not able to take the required quantity of water. He had participated in the Poona Conference and held frequent talks with his co-workers on political subjects instead of devoting his time wholly to Harijan services because *civil disobedience continued to be an integral part of his life and he was not ashamed of it.*

[H. D. (Spl. Br), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 283]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 4181

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 29th August 1933

To

The District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

Sir,

With reference to your Express Letter No. S. P. O. X. (VI)-45, dated the 27th July 1933, in which you stated your views regarding Mr. Gandhi's idea of sacrificing the Sabarmati Ashram, I am directed to enclose for your information copies of two letters dated the 26th July 1933 which were

addressed by Mr. Gandhi to Government on the subject and of the acknowledgment which was sent to him. Government have not yet decided if there would be any advantage in sending a further reply to him, and, particularly in view of his release on the 23rd instant, they consider that it might be advisable to see if he has any fresh plans in view in regard to the Ashram and whether it is being used as a base for renewed marches to Ras. It is however noticed from a report in the *Times of India* of the 22nd instant that the Ashram was completely evacuated on the 21st instant, and Government would be glad to know what the present position is.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.),

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

No. S. D. 4182—Copy forwarded
W. C. to the Comnr., N. D.

By order etc.,

(Sd),

Secretary to Government.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 297]

Submitted with reference to Government letter No. S. D. 4181, dated 29th August 1933, and the notes underlying it.

2. It will be seen from—

(a) the letter dated 20th September 1933 from Mr. Gandhi to Mr. G. Birla reproduced on p. 1 of the *Harijan* dated the 7th instant,

(b) the report No. C/878, dated the 4th instant from the D. S. P., Ahmedabad, and

(c) the extract from the D. M., Ahmedabad's weekly letter dated the 11th instant,

that Mr. Gandhi has since decided, in consultation with the trustees of the Sabarmati Ashram to transfer Ashram property to the Servants of Untouchables Society to be used solely for the benefit of untouchables in the manner indicated by the objects of the proposed trust.

If approved therefore, the accompanying draft reply to the Government of India with reference to their letter No. D. 5165-Poll, dated 3rd August 1933, may issue.

R. M. M.
21st October.

H. M.
R. D. B.
21st October.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 141-151]

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Mahatma Gandhi

(Released for publication, but not fully reproduced in press)

13th September 1933

My Dear Bapu,

In our recent conversations you will remember that I laid stress on the reiteration and clearer definition of our national objective. The objective of political independence has been finally laid down by the Congress and there is nothing to add to it or take away from it. We stand for complete independence. Sometimes a little confusion arises because of vague phraseology and misleading propaganda and it is therefore as well to remove this confusion by a reiteration of our political demand. Even the word independence is used with a variety of meanings. Obviously it must include as the Congress has clearly and definitely laid down, full control of the Army and of foreign relations, as well as financial control.

In regard to economic matters the Karachi Congress by passing the important resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes' gave a lead and pointed out the direction in which we should move. I attach great importance to that resolution but I would personally like to go much further and to clarify the position still more.

It seems to me that if we are to improve the condition of the masses, to raise them economically and give them freedom, it is inevitable that vested interests in India will have to give up their special position and many of their privileges. It is inconceivable to me how else the masses can rise. Therefore the problem of achieving freedom becomes one of the revising vested interests in favour of the masses. To the extent this is done, to that extent only will freedom come. The biggest vested interest in India is that of the British Government; next come the Indian Princes ; and others follow. We do not wish to injure any class or group and the divesting should be done as gently as possible and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the divesting is bound to cause loss to the classes or groups which enjoy special privileges at the expense of the masses. It is also obvious that the process of divesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition, as you know, is as bad as it can well be. Indeed economic forces themselves are acting with amazing rapidity today and breaking up the old order. The big-zamindari and taluqdari system in the United Provinces has largely collapsed, though it may be kept up for some time longer by outside agencies. Even the condition of the zamindars is very bad and the peasants of course are in a far worse position.

We are all agreed that the Round Table Conference and its various productions are utterly useless to solve even one of India's many problems. As I conceive it, the Round Table Conference was an effort to consolidate the

vested interests of India behind the British Government so as to face the rising and powerful national and economic movements in the country which threaten these interests. Essentially, in international parlance, it was a fascist grouping of vested and possessing interests, and fascist methods were adopted in India to suppress the national movement. And because the mere preservation of all these vested interests in India cannot possibly solve our economic ills, whether those of the masses or even of the middle classes, the effort is foredoomed to inevitable failure. Even from the point of view of a democratic nationalism, as you yourself stated at the Round Table Conference, democracy and autocracy can ill go together.

Another aspect has to be borne in mind. The problem of Indian freedom cannot be separated from the vital international problems of the world. The present crisis in the world's affairs is having its repercussions in India. At any moment it may result in a complete break down or in a violent international conflagration. Everywhere there is a conflict and a contest between the forces of progress and betterment of the masses and the forces of reaction and vested interests. We cannot remain silent witnesses to this titanic struggle for it affects us intimately. Both on the narrower ground of our own interests and the wider ground of international welfare and human progress, we must, I feel, range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world. This ranging ourselves at present can of course be ideological only.

These are some of the larger issues that fill my mind and I am convinced, not only that we ignore them at our peril, but that a true appreciation of them will vitalize and give new meaning to our struggle for freedom which we must continue till the full objective is achieved.

These wider issues are of greater importance but at present, as you know, the minds of large numbers of our countrymen are greatly exercised over immediate national problems and especially the question of carrying on the struggle. The statements that you and Sjt. M. S. Aney issued sometimes ago to guide the country have, I am afraid, produced some confusion and there has even been some resentment in regard to particular directions contained in them. There is a vague talk, in quarters which ought to know better, that the Congress has been dissolved. It is obvious that nothing of the kind has been done or could be done under the constitution. Your directions and those of Mr. Aney were, I take it, in the nature of advice or suggestions to meet a certain position that had arisen. The Congress continues as before but it is clear that it cannot function normally when Government declare its committees to be illegal. There can be no regular offices or open activity. To recognise this fact and to adapt ourselves to it is not to wind up any Congress Committee, much less the Congress organization as a whole.

A necessary consequence from this was to avoid the possibility of a few new comers who formed committees, when the old members and other reliable workers went to prison, or even individuals, committing the Congress

to an undesirable course of action. As is known, we have had to face this risk in the past and unreliable persons have come to the helm of affairs in some local areas with the intention of obstructing and even stopping the very activities they were supposed to further. It thus becomes desirable to prevent such unreliable persons from exploiting the name of the Congress Committee. This of course does not prevent Congress workers in any area from co-operating together in an organized way for the furtherance of our programme.

Confusion has also arisen in the country about the implications of individual and mass civil disobedience. I appreciate to some extent, the difference but this difference does not appear to me to be a fundamental one, as, in any event, Civil Disobedience is essentially an individual affair. Individual civil disobedience can develop into mass civil disobedience. Besides, you told me that if an organization felt strong enough to undertake the responsibility and the risk, it could, of its own initiative, take up mass civil disobedience. Indeed you were of opinion that a local organization could, in this manner go ahead in any direction which was not contrary to Congress methods of policy.

Stress was laid in your previous statement on the undesirability of secrecy, although you pointed out that there was nothing inherently illegitimate in secret methods. I think that most of us agree, and certainly I am of that opinion, that our movement is essentially an open one and secret methods do not fit in with it. Such methods, if indulged in to any large extent, are likely to change the whole character of the movement, as it has been conceived, and produce a certain amount of demoralization. Agreeing with this, some of us feel that, to some extent as for instance in communicating with each other or sending directions or keeping contacts, a measure of secrecy may be necessary. Perhaps secrecy is hardly the word for these activities and privacy would suit them better. Privacy of course is always open to all groups and individuals. Secrecy, or the avoidance of it, as you said, cannot be made into a fetish.

But secrecy is certainly involved in the production of printed or duplicated news sheets and bulletins. These bulletins have often served a useful purpose in the past in keeping contact between headquarters and districts and in sending information or directions. You pointed out to me the difficulties and undesirable consequences of running these secret presses and duplicating machines. Many good workers are tied up and have to avoid aggressive action ; money has to be invested in such machines and frequently they are taken away by the police. Even from the practical point of view this continuous drain and tying up of workers is not desirable, and undoubtedly it sometimes results in demoralization. You suggested that the best way was to have hand written copies of bulletins, etc., containing the name of the publisher. Generally, I agree with all this and appreciate the force of your argument. But I do feel that under certain circumstances it may be desirable for a local or provincial

committee or group to issue bulletins of directions, etc., secretly. This must not be encouraged; indeed it should be discouraged, but a certain latitude in exceptional circumstances might be permitted.

There is one other small matter which seems to me rather ridiculous. It was right and proper, if I may say so, for you to court imprisonment by giving previous intimation of your intention to do so to the authorities. But it seems to me to be perfectly absurd for others, and even Congress volunteers, to send such notices or communications to the authorities. Any person desiring to offer civil resistance should openly carry on activities which further our cause and thus court arrest. He must not forget or ignore these activities and merely ask to be arrested.

This letter has become long enough. I do not mention here the many other matters which I had the privilege of discussing with you.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) JAWAHAR.

Parnakuti,
Poona, September 13, 1933.
Mahatma Gandhi, Poona.

Copy with compliments to—
The Secretary to Government, H. D. (Spl.), Poona.

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Mahatma Gandhi

My Dear Bapu,

In our recent conversations you will remember that I laid stress on the reiteration and clearer definition of our national objective. The objective of political independence has been finally laid down by the Congress and there is nothing to add to it or take away from it. We stand for complete independence. Sometimes a little confusion arises because of vague phraseology and misleading propaganda and it is therefore as well to remove this confusion by a reiteration of our political demand. Even the word independence is used with a variety of meanings. Obviously it must include as the Congress has clearly and definitely laid down, full control of the Army and of foreign relations, as well as financial control.

In regard to economic matters the Karachi Congress by passing the important resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes' gave a lead and pointed out the direction in which we should move. I attach great importance to that resolution but I would personally like to go much further and to clarify the position still more.

It seems to me that if we are to improve the condition of the masses, to raise them economically and give them freedom, it is inevitable that vested

interests in India will have to give up their special position and many of their privileges. It is inconceivable to me how else the masses can rise. Therefore the problem of achieving freedom becomes one of revising vested interests in favour of the masses. To the extent this is done, to that extent only will freedom come. The biggest vested interest in India is that of the British Government; next come the Indian Princes; and others follow. We do not wish to injure any class or group and the divesting should be done as gently as possible and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the divesting is bound to cause loss to the classes or groups which enjoy special privileges at the expense of the masses. It is also obvious that the process of divesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition, as you know, is as bad as it can well be. Indeed economic forces themselves are acting with amazing rapidity today and breaking up the old order. The big zamindari and taluqadari system in the United Provinces has largely collapsed, though it may be kept up for some time longer by outside agencies. Even the condition of the zamindars is very bad and the peasantry of course are in a far worse position.

We are all agreed that the Round Table Conference and its various productions are utterly useless to solve even one of India's many problems. As I conceive it, the Round Table Conference was an effort to consolidate the vested interests of India behind the British Government so as to face the rising and powerful national and economic movements in the country which threaten these interests. Essentially, in international parlance, it was a fascist grouping of vested and possessing interests, and fascist methods were adopted in India to suppress the national movement. And because the mere preservation of all these vested interests in India cannot possibly solve our economic ills, whether those of the masses or even of the middle classes, the effort is foredoomed to inevitable failure. Even from the point of view of a democratic nationalism, as you yourself stated at the Round Table Conference, democracy and autocracy can ill go together.

Another aspect has to be borne in mind. The problem of Indian freedom cannot be separated from the vital international problems of the world. The present crisis in the world's affairs is having its repercussions in India. At any moment it may result in a complete break down or in a violent international conflagration. Everywhere there is a conflict and contest between the forces of progress and betterment of the masses and the forces of reaction and vested interests. We cannot remain silent witnesses to this titanic struggle for it affects us intimately. Both on the narrower ground of our own interests and the wider ground of international welfare and human progress, we must, I feel, range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world. This ranging ourselves at present can of course be ideological only.

These are some of the larger issues that fill my mind and I am convinced, not only that we ignore them at our peril, but that a true appreciation of them

will vitalize and give new meaning to our struggle for freedom which we must continue till the full objective is achieved.

These wider issues are of great importance but at present as you know, the minds of large numbers of our countrymen are greatly exercised over immediate national problems and especially the question of carrying on the struggle. The statements that you and Sjt. M. S. Aney issued sometime ago to guide the country have, I am afraid, produced some confusion and there has even been some resentment in regard to particular directions contained in them. There is a vague talk, in quarters which ought to know better, that the Congress has been dissolved. It is obvious that nothing of the kind has been done or could be done under the constitution. Your directions and those of Mr. Aney were, I take it, in the nature of advice or suggestions to meet a certain position that had arisen. The Congress continues as before but it is clear that it cannot function normally when Government declare its committees to be illegal. There can be no regular offices or open activity. To recognise this fact and to adapt ourselves to it is not to wind up any Congress Committee, much less the Congress organization as a whole.

A necessary consequence from this was to avoid the possibility of a few new comers who formed committees, when the old members and other reliable workers went to prison, or even individuals, committing the Congress to an undesirable course of action. As is known, we have had to face this risk in the past and unreliable persons have come to the helm of affairs in some local areas with the intention of obstructing and even stopping the very activities they were supposed to further. It thus becomes desirable to prevent such unreliable persons from exploiting the name of the Congress Committee. This of course does not prevent Congress workers in any area from cooperating together in an organized way for the furtherance of our programmes.

Confusion has also arisen in the country about the implications of individual and mass civil disobedience. I appreciate to some extent, the difference but this difference does not appear to me to be a fundamental one, as, in any event, Civil Disobedience is essentially an individual affair. Individual civil disobedience can develop into mass civil disobedience. Besides, you told me that if an organization felt strong enough to undertake the responsibility and the risk, it could, of its own initiative, take up mass civil disobedience. Indeed you were of opinion that a local organization could, in this manner go ahead in any direction which was not contrary to Congress methods or policy.

Stress was laid in your previous statement on the undesirability of secrecy, although you pointed out that there was nothing inherently illegitimate in secret methods. I think that most of us agree, and certainly I am of that opinion, that our movement is essentially an open one and secret methods do not fit in with it. Such methods, if indulged into any large extent, are likely to change the whole character of the movement, as it has been conceived,

and produce a certain amount of demoralization. Agreeing with this, some of us feel that, to some extent as for instance in communicating with each other or sending directions or keeping contacts, a measure of secrecy may be necessary. Perhaps secrecy is hardly the word for these activities and privacy would suit them better. Privacy of course is always open to all groups and individuals. Secrecy, or the avoidance of it, as you said, cannot be made into a fetish.

But secrecy is certainly involved in the production of printed or duplicated news sheets and bulletins. These bulletins have often served a useful purpose in the past in keeping contact between headquarters and districts and in sending information or directions. You pointed out to me the difficulties and undesirable consequences of running these secret presses and duplicating machines. Many good workers are tied up and have to avoid aggressive action ; money has to be invested in such machines and frequently they are taken away by the police. Even from the practical point of view this continuous drain and tying up of workers is not desirable, and undoubtedly it sometimes results in demoralization. You suggested that the best way was to have hand written copies of bulletins etc. containing the name of the publisher. Generally, I agree with all this and appreciate the force of your argument. But I do feel that under certain circumstances it may be desirable for a local or provincial committee or group to issue bulletins of directions etc. secretly. This must not be encouraged; indeed it should be discouraged, but a certain latitude in exceptional circumstances might be permitted.

There is one other small matter which seems to me rather ridiculous. It was right and proper, if I may say so, for you to court imprisonment by giving previous intimation of your intention to do so to the authorities. But it seems to me to be perfectly absurd for others, and even Congress volunteers, to send such notices or communications to the authorities. Any person desiring to offer civil resistance should openly carry on activities which further our cause and thus court arrest. He must not forget or ignore these activities and merely ask to be arrested.

This letter has become long enough. I do not mention here the many other matters which I had the privilege of discussing with you.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) JAWAHAR.

Parnakuti,

Poona, September 13, 1933.

Mahatma Gandhi. Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-C, p. 345]

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru

PARNAKUTI

Poona, September 14, 1933

My Dear Jawaharlal,

I am glad you have written so fully and frankly.

When, on my return from London at the end of 1931, I found you to have been suddenly snatched away from me, I felt the separation keenly. I was, therefore, most anxious to meet you and exchange views.

With much of what you have said in your letter I am in complete agreement. The experience gained after the Karachi Congress has, if possible, strengthened my faith in the main resolution and the economic programme referred to by you. I have no doubt in my mind that our goal can be no less than ' Complete Independence '. I am also in wholehearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of vested interests the condition of the masses can never be improved. I believe too, though I may not go as far as you do, that before India can become one homogeneous entity, the princes will have to part with much of their power and become popular representatives of the people over whom they are ruling today. I can corroborate from first hand experience much of what you say about the Round Table Conference. Nor have I the slightest difficulty in agreeing with you that in these days of rapid intercommunication and a growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognise that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism. India cannot stand in isolation and unaffected by what is going on in other parts of the world. I can, therefore, go the whole length with you and say that ' We should range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world'. But I know that though there is such an agreement between you and me in the enunciation of ideals, there are temperamental differences between us. Thus you have emphasised the necessity of a clear statement of the goal, but having once determined it, I have never attached importance to the repetition. The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there if we do not know and utilize the means of achieving it. I have, therefore, concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I know that if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal is assured. I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means. If we can give an ocular demonstration of our uttermost truthfulness and non-violence, I am convinced that our statement of the national goal cannot long offend the interests which your letter would appear to attack. We know that the princes, the zamindars, and those, who depend for their existence upon the exploitation of the masses, would cease to fear and distrust us, if we could but ensure the innocence of our methods.

We do not seek to coerce any. We seek to convert them. This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest.

In the main I agree with your interpretation of Sjt. Aney's instructions and my note upon them. I am quite clear in my mind that had these instructions not been issued, the whole movement of civil resistance would have collapsed through growing internal weakness ; for Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance, when, as a matter of fact, under the organised terrorism which the Ordinance rule means, organised functioning of Congress Committees had become impossible. A false belief in the functioning of organisations rendered illegal and largely impotent was fast producing a demoralisation which had to be arrested. There is no such thing as demoralisation in civil resistance properly applied. You have said rightly that after all ' Civil Disobedience is essentially an individual affair '. I go a step further and say that so long as there is one civil resister offering resistance, the movement cannot die and must succeed in the end. Individual civil resisters do not need the aid of an organisation. After all an organisation is nothing without the individuals composing it. Sjt. Aney's instructions were, therefore, I hold, an effective answer to the Ordinances and if only men and women belonging to the Congress will appreciate the necessity of those instructions with all their implications, the Ordinances will be rendered nugatory, at least so far as the resisters are concerned. They can form a nucleus around which an army of invincible civil resisters can be built up. Nothing in Sjt. Aney's instructions or in my note would warrant the supposition that they preclude organised action by Congressmen in any shape or form.

I would like to warn you against thinking that there is no fundamental difference between individual civil resistance and mass civil resistance. I think that the fundamental difference is implied in your own admission that ' It is essentially an individual affair'. The chief distinction between mass civil resistance and individual civil resistance is that in the latter everyone is a complete independent unit and his fall does not affect the others : in mass civil resistance the fall of one generally adversely affects the rest. Again, in mass civil resistance leadership is essential, in individual civil resistance every resister is his own leader. Then again, in mass civil resistance, there is a possibility of failure ; in individual civil resistance failure is an impossibility. Finally, a State may cope with mass civil resistance ; no State has yet been found able to cope with individual civil resistance.

Nor may much be made of my statement that an organisation which feels its own strength can at its own risk adopt mass civil resistance. While, as an opinion, it is unexceptionable, I know that at the present moment there is no organisation that can shoulder the burden. I do not want to raise false hopes.

Now about secret methods. I am as firm as ever that they must be tabooed, I am myself unable to make any exceptions. Secrecy has caused much mischief and if it is not put down with a firm hand, it may ruin the movement. There may be exceptional circumstances that may warrant secret methods. I would forego that advantage, for the sake of the masses whom we want to educate in fearlessness. I will not confuse their minds by leading them to think that under certain circumstances, they may resort to secret methods. Secrecy is inimical to the growth of the spirit of civil resistance. If Congressmen will realise that all property is liable to be confiscated at any moment they will learn to be utterly independent of it.

I quite agree with you that it is ludicrous for individuals to send notices to the local authorities of their intention to offer the particular form of civil disobedience. We do not want to make a great movement ridiculous. Therefore when civil resistance is offered it should be offered seriously and in an effective manner, in so far as this is possible, in furtherance of the Congress programme.

I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress. They became an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. With civil resistance as the background we cannot possibly do without the constructive activities such as communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never amounted to more than one lakh at the outset. I feel that there is something radically wrong if paralysis has overtaken the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in an open confession by those who for any reason whatsoever are unable to join the civil resisters' ranks. They are also serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer to the goal who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named and several other kindred activities I can add to the list. Ordinance or no Ordinance, if individual Congressman and Congresswoman will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of building of the house of independence and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment.

Finally, if I can say so without incurring the risk of your accusing me of egotism, I would like to say that I have no sense of defeat in me and the hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920 ; for I have an undying faith in the efficacy of civil resistance. As you are aware, after full and prayerful consideration I have decided not to take the offensive during the unexpired period of the sentence of imprisonment that was pronounced against me on the 4th of August last by the court that met in Yeravda jail. I need not go into the reasons as I have already issued a separate statement about it. This personal

suspension, although it may be misunderstood for a while, will show how and when it may become a duty. And if it is a duty, it cannot possibly injure the cause.

Yours,
(Sd.) BAPU.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 153-161]

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru

(Released for publication but not fully reproduced in press)

PARNAKUTI

Poona, September 14, 1933

My Dear Jawaharlal,

I am glad you have written so fully and frankly.

When, on my return from London at the end of 1931, I found you to have been suddenly snatched away from me, I felt the separation keenly. I was, therefore, most anxious to meet you and exchange views.

With much of what you have said in your letter I am in complete agreement. The experience gained after the Karachi Congress has, if possible, strengthened my faith in the main resolution and the economic programme referred to by you. I have no doubt in my mind that our goal can be no less than Complete Independence'. I am also in whole-hearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of vested interests the condition of the masses can never be improved. I believe too, though I may not go as far as you do, that before India can become one homogeneous entity, the princes will have to part with much of their power and become popular representatives of the people over whom they are ruling today. I can corroborate from first hand experience much of what you say about the Round Table Conference. Nor have I the slightest difficulty in agreeing with you that in these days of rapid intercommunication and a growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognise that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism. India cannot stand in isolation and unaffected by what is going on in other parts of the world. I can, therefore, go the whole length with you and say that 'we should range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world'. But I know that though there is such an agreement between you and me in the enunciation of ideals, there are temperamental differences between us. Thus you have emphasised the necessity of a clear statement of the goal, but having once determined it, I have never attached importance to the repetition. The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there if we do not know and utilize the means of achieving it. I have, therefore, concerned myself

principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I know that if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal is assured. I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means. If we can give an ocular demonstration of our uttermost truthfulness and non-violence, I am convinced that our statement of the national goal cannot long offend the interests which your letter would appear to attack. We know that the princes, the zamindars, and those, who depend for their existence upon the exploitation of the masses, would cease to fear and distrust us, if we could but ensure the innocence of our methods. We do not seek to coerce any. We seek to convert them. This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest.

In the main I agree with your interpretation of Sjt. Aney's instructions and my note upon them. I am quite clear in my mind that had these instructions not been issued, the whole movement of civil resistance would have collapsed through growing internal weakness ; for Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance, when, as a matter of fact, under the organised terrorism which the Ordinance rule means organised functioning of Congress Committees had become impossible. A false belief in the functioning of organisations rendered illegal and largely impotent was fast producing a demoralisation which had to be arrested. There is no such thing as demoralisation in civil resistance properly applied. You have said rightly that after all ' Civil Disobedience is essentially an individual affair '. I go a step further and say that so long as there is one civil resister offering resistance, the movement cannot die and must succeed in the end. Individual civil resisters do not need the aid of an organisation. After all an organisation is nothing without the individuals composing it. Sjt. Aney's instructions were, therefore, I hold, an effective answer to the Ordinances and if only men and women belonging to the Congress will appreciate the necessity of those instructions with all their implications, the Ordinances will be rendered nugatory, at least so far as the resisters are concerned. They can form a nucleus around which an army of invincible civil resisters can be built up. Nothing in Sjt. Aney's instructions or in my note would warrant the supposition that they preclude organised action by Congressmen in any shape or form.

I would like to warn you against thinking that there is no fundamental difference between individual civil resistance and mass civil resistance. I think that the fundamental difference is implied in your own admission that ' It is essentially an individual affair'. The chief distinction between mass civil resistance and individual civil resistance is that in the latter everyone is a complete independent unity and his fall does not affect the others : in mass civil resistance the fall of one generally adversely affects the rest. Again, in mass civil resistance leadership is essential, in individual civil resistance

every resister is his own leader. Then again, in mass civil resistance, there is a possibility of failure ; in individual civil resistance failure is an impossibility. Finally, a State may cope with mass civil resistance ; no State has yet been found able to cope with individual civil resistance.

Nor may much be made of my statement that an organisation which feels its own strength can at its own risk adopt mass civil resistance. While as an opinion, it is unexceptionable, I know that at the present moment there is no organisation that can shoulder the burden. I do not want to raise false hopes.

Now about secret methods. I am as firm as ever that they must be tabooed. I am myself unable to make any exceptions. Secrecy has caused much mischief and if it is not put down with a firm hand, it may ruin the movement. There may be exceptional circumstances that may warrant secret methods. I would forego that advantage, for the sake of the masses whom we want to educate in fearlessness. I will not confuse their minds by leading them to think that under certain circumstances, they may resort to secret methods. Secrecy is inimical to the growth of the spirit of civil resistance. If Congressmen will realise that all property is liable to be confiscated at any moment they will learn to be utterly independent of it.

I quite agree with you that it is ludicrous for individuals to send notices to the local authorities of their intention to offer the particular form of civil disobedience. We do not want to make a great movement ridiculous. Therefore when civil resistance is offered it should be offered seriously and in an effective manner, in so far as this is possible, in furtherance of the Congress programme.

I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress. They became an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. With civil resistance as the background we cannot possibly do without the constructive activities such as communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never amounted to more than one lakh at the outset. I feel that there is something radically wrong if paralysis has overtaken the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in an open confession by those who for any reason whatsoever are unable to join the civil resisters' ranks. They are also serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer to the goal who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named and several other kindred activities I can add to the list. Ordinance or no Ordinance, if individual Congressman and Congresswoman will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of building of the house of independence and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment.

Finally, if I can say so without incurring the risk of your accusing me of egotism, I would like to say that I have no sense of defeat in me and the hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920 ; for I have an undying faith in the efficacy of civil resistance. As you are aware, after full and prayerful consideration I have decided not to take the offensive during the unexpired period of the sentence of imprisonment that was pronounced against me on the 4th of August last by the court that met in Yeravda jail. I need not go into the reasons as I have already issued a separate statement about it. This personal suspension, although it may be misunderstood for a while, will show how and when it may become a duty. And if it is a duty, it cannot possibly injure the cause.

Yours,
(Sd.) BAPU

Jawaharlal Nehru, Poona.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-C, p. 331]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.B. 2204 of 1933
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE
C.I.D., Post Box No. .36
Poona, 19th September 1933

My Dear Colville,

I forward herewith for your information copies of the Gandhi-Nehru letters written at Parnakuti, regarding the present political situation.

Although the letters were released for publication in the Press, these were not fully reproduced.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) D. F. P. REID.

W. Colville, Esquire, I.P.,
Personal Assistant to the Director, I.B.,
H. D., Government of India, Simla.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 133-135]

**M. K. Gandhi's statement issued from the PARNAKUTI
at 11 a.m. on 14th September 1933**

As a rule, during my long course of public service the next moment's step has been clear before me, but since my unexpected release from prison on 23rd August last, darkness has surrounded me. The path of duty has, therefore, not been clear to me. My present state of health is such that it may yet

take several weeks for me to regain lost strength. To seek imprisonment as soon as I was physically fit or to restrain myself for the interrupted year of imprisonment was the question before me.

After hard praying and thinking I have come to the conclusion that up to the termination of the period of sentence, i.e. upto the 3rd August next, I must not court imprisonment by offering aggressive civil resistance. This, however, in no way affects the advice given in the statement issued by me after the informal conference at Poona. That I have to suspend action for myself is unfortunate but inevitable.

My release has placed me in a most embarrassing position but as a satyagrahi, that is, humble seeker of truth, somehow or other it offends my sense of propriety to court imprisonment in the circumstances created by my discharge. Whatever the motive behind it, I may not quarrel with the release. I must examine the act on its merits. It appears to me to be petty to force the Government to rearrest me by taking aggressive action during the unexpired term of imprisonment, unless extraordinary circumstances which I cannot foresee, arise, compelling me to revise my decision. (I. N. A. telegram adds : ' There is no room for smallness in civil disobedience ').

This self-imposed restraint is a bitter cup. When I said at my trial, after arrest, that is to remain outside and be a helpless witness of the devastating and demoralizing effect of Ordinance Rule was an unbearable agony, I stated a simple unvarnished fact. That agony is no less today than it was on the 4th of August. But I must bear it. I cannot be a willing party to the undignified cat and mouse game, if the Government have any such thing in contemplation. Therefore when and if I am arrested again and denied Harijan service I would not hesitate, if I had the inner urge to undertake a fast to the finish, which would not be broken even if the Government release me, as they did on 23rd August last when the danger point had been reached.

I must slate the limitation of my self-restraint in clear terms. Whilst I can refrain from aggressive civil resistance, I cannot, so long as I am free, help guiding those who will seek my advise and preventing the national movement from running into wrong channels. It is a clear growing belief with me that Truth cannot be found by violent means. Attainment of National Independence is to me a search after truth. Terrorist methods whether adopted by the oppressor or his victim can, I am convinced, be effectively answered never by violent resistance but only by civil resistance. I would therefore be guilty of disloyalty to my creed, if I attempted to put greater restraint on myself than I have adambated in this statement. If then the Government leave me free, I propose to devote the period to Harijan service and if possible also to such other constructive activities as my health may permit.

It is needless to repeat here that peace is as much a part of my being as civil resistance. Indeed a civil resister offers resistance only when peace

becomes impossible. Therefore so far as I am concerned and so long as I am free I shall make all the endeavour in my power to explore every possible avenue of honourable peace.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (14), pp. 137-139*]

**Statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the
PARNAKUTI at 11 a.m. on 14th September 1933**

" Immediately after my discharge from prison my first thought was the serious illness of my mother and I hastened to her bed-side in Hospital. But though anxiety failed me and my mind was troubled because of her illness, it was inevitable for me to think hard about the present political condition of the country and the course of our struggle for freedom. For over twenty months I had been cut off from activity ; for over two years I had not met Gandhiji, and much had happened during this period. I sought to find out how matters stood from some of my colleagues in the U. P. but above all, I desired to meet Gandhiji after my long separation from him. It was hard for me to leave my mother's bed-side but as soon as I could possibly do so for a few days I came to Poona. I have now had the privilege of long and intimate conversations with him and placed my view point before him and listened to his advice. Two questions faced us—the longer national question involved in the freedom struggle and the personal issue raised by Gandhiji's recent discharge from prison. The latter was a question which Gandhiji alone could decide ; it was primarily a matter affecting him though of course any decision of his, was bound to have national reactions.

I had come to Poona to see Gandhiji and clear up my own mind about many matters but I find that considerable public interest has been taken in our conversations, and there seems to be an expectation that some public statement should be made in regard to them. It has been thought a convenient way of placing some of the important points before the public, would be by an exchange of letters between Gandhiji and myself. It is proposed to exchange and issue these letters to the press in due course.

It has been my privilege, in common with vast numbers of my countrymen and countrywomen to take part in the struggle for India's freedom during the memorable 13 years under the leadership and inspiration of Gandhiji. My own view point has always been political and economic and I have seldom been influenced by religious or other like considerations, though the moral and practical aspect of Satyagraha has always appealed to me. Gandhi, as is wellknown is essentially a man of religion and his outlook is governed by this. In spite of this difference in outlooks many of us have found numerous points of agreement with him and have more willingly and joyously followed his lead in action. India knows and the world knows how great a leader in action he is and how he has infused the breath of life and hope in our suffering

and toiling masses. Politically and to some extent economically, the objective he had in view appealed to us and we worked to the best of our ability to achieve it. I feel that the methods he has taught us to follow are fundamentally right for us, and we must continue to pursue them till we gain that objective, and that for these methods his leadership is essential. Freedom can have no real meaning for us unless it is a freedom of the lowest and the most exploited in the land. Gandhiji has always laid stress on this and it is from these downtrodden classes that he has drawn his strength. I feel however that it would be advisable to define our objective more clearly so that there may be no misapprehensions in India and abroad. In particular I feel that in these days of the economic breakdown of the capitalists order, it is essential for us to lay down a clear economic policy for the national movement.

I have had a request from a respected colleague to convene a meeting of the A.I.C.C. I would gladly take this step, as indeed, I am bound to do so if there is a requisition demanding such a meeting. But I feel that under present circumstances there are considerable difficulties in the way of convening a meeting of the A.I.C.C."

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File 800 (41), p. 11]

Gandhi's letter to Sir Frederic Sykes

Copy—Original sent to the P. and S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM. 1056/105162-B, dated 25th September 1956.

Dear Friend,

The cordial conversations I had with you last year emboldens me to write this to you. If you would rather that being a prisoner, I should not write to you, I shall cease to do so and this may be thrown away. If however you don't resent this letter, I may take the further liberty of writing again, should the occasion arise.

Whilst in my opinion all the ordinances are a tragic blunder and so utterly unnecessary, I can understand the Government taking a different view and trying to crush the Congress. The organisation may be put out of action for a time. The spirit will never be crushed. But this is another story.

What I want to draw your attention to is the excesses that are being committed under the ordinances.

The breaking up of a peaceful meeting in Ahmedabad by severe lathi-charges and running horses through the meeting appears to have been barbarous procedure ; several young men were severely and some women were slightly hurt. One young woman had her hair pulled. This information I glean from the newspapers supplied to me. In Nadiad the treatment is said to have been still more brutal and it is reported to have been the worst in Surat. Boys in two boarding houses are said to have been hurriedly dragged out of them and the houses taken over by the authorities. Such procedure

brutalises those who are engaged in carrying it out. It should be borne in mind that all this treatment is being meted out to those who do not retaliate and have not been known to have done any previous violence.

The authorities have taken possession of the National University buildings in Ahmedabad. The University has a rich collection of carefully selected books. There is a religious section to the library. It is admitted to be a unique library built up by devoted scholars. It contains some rare and valuable manuscripts. There is, too, a little museum which has an art collection. The grounds have valuable trees planted on them. The whole of this constructive effort—a fruit of ten years patient labour—is likely to be ruined without any just cause.

One of the most respectable Indians belonging to the celebrated Tyabji family, Mr. Abbas Tyabji who is seventy-eight years old and who is an ex-Chief Judge of the Baroda High Court is said to have been locked up in Nadiad along with other prisoners in what can only be described as a cage.

I ask you to investigate these statements. Denials by the parties charged can be regarded as no investigation. Often have such denials been proved to be worthless.

I have picked out but a few of what have appeared to me to be glaring instances of high-handedness. If past experience is any guide, probably the worst cases have not even been allowed to appear in the newspapers. Nor do I get all the newspapers.

I write this as a friend wishing well to the English. I am anxious that on both sides every avoidable cause of bitterness should be avoided. I would like the fight to be conducted honourably on either side so that at the end of it either party may be able to say of the other that there was no malice behind its actions.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Y. C. P.
23rd January 1932
Sir Frederic Sykes, Bombay

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 301*]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
Wardha, September 30, 1933

Dear Ghanshyamdas,

As you are aware, the ' Satyagraha Ashram' grounds with the buildings in Sabarmati were abandoned on the 1st of August last by the Ashram people. I had expected that the Government would, in view of my letter

addressed to them, take charge of this abandoned property, but they did not do so. It then became a question with me as to what was my duty in the circumstance. I felt that it was wrong altogether to allow valuable buildings and the equally valuable crops and trees to lie neglected and run to waste. I consulted friends and co-workers and came to the conclusion that the best use to make of the Ashram was to dedicate it once for all for the service of the Harijans. I placed my proposal before the trustees of the Ashram, who are out, as also fellow members. They have, I am happy to say, wholeheartedly approved of it. When the property was abandoned, there certainly was the expectation that some day, whether through an honourable settlement or India coming to her own, the trustees would resume possession. Under the new proposal, the trustees divest themselves entirely of the property. This procedure is permissible under the trust deed, service of the Harijans being one of the objects of the trust. Therefore, the new proposal is wholly in keeping with the letter and spirit of the constitution of the Ashram, as also the trust.

The question that the trustees and I had to consider was to whom was the property to be transferred for the specific use I have mentioned ; and we came unanimously to the conclusion that it should be transferred to the All-India Harijan Organisation for all-India use. The objects of the trust are : (i) to settle on the Ashram ground approved Harijan families, subject to regulations to be framed ; (ii) to open a hostel for Harijan boys and girls with liberty to take non-Harijans ; (iii) to conduct a technological department for teaching the art of skinning carcasses, tanning the hide so obtained, curing it and manufacturing leather so prepared into shoes, sandals and other articles of daily use ; and (iv) to use the premises as offices for the Central Board, or the Gujarat provincial organisation or both, and such other allied uses that the Committee, referred to in the following paragraph may think proper.

On behalf of the trustees, I suggest that the Servants of Untouchables Society should appoint a special committee with yourself and the Secretary as *ex-officio* members, and three Ahmedabad citizens, with power to this committee to add to their number, to take over this trust and to give effect to its objects.

Two friends who have been always associated with the Ashram, viz., Sjts. Budhabhai and Juthabhai, have offered to reside on the premises as honorary managers. They have their own means and have been devoted to the service of the Harijans for a long time. There is also an inmate of the Ashram, who has dedicated his life to Harijan service and who will gladly stay on the premises. He has almost become a specialist as a teacher of Harijan boys and girls. The committee I have suggested should, therefore, have no difficulty in managing the trust; nor is it necessary that all the activities I have mentioned should be simultaneously and immediately undertaken. Some Harijan families, as you are aware, are already living there. It

has long been a dream of the members of the Ashram to establish a colony of Harijan families, but beyond having a few of them, we were not able to make further progress. Experiments in tanning were also conducted there. Manufacture of sandals was going on up to the time of disbandment. The buildings contain a spacious hostel easily to accommodate 100 boarders. It has a fairly big weaving shed and other buildings exceptionally fitted for the uses I have named. The property contains 100 acres. I venture to say, therefore that the site is none too large for the fulfilment of the object mentioned, but it is large enough for the response that may be reasonably expected for some time to come. I hope that the Society will have no objection to accept the offer of the trustees and to take over the responsibility implied in the acceptance.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[*H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 293*]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. C/878 of 1933

Ahmedabad, 4th October 1933

D. M., Ahmedabad,

P. C. and with reference to your No. C. N. J. S. R. I.-61, dated 19th September 1933, has the honour to state that Chimanlal Narsidas lived at the Ashram for twelve years before it was disbanded in August this year. Throughout that period, he was Assistant Secretary.

When the Ashram was disbanded, he shifted his residence to Dr. Pranjivan's bungalow near the Ashram. He continued to look after the buildings and land in his capacity of Assistant Secretary.

The Ashram was completely vacated on August 21st and all moveable property removed.

The four Pathans are servants of Chhotalal Parshotam who have placed their services at the disposal of Chimanlal Narsidas.

Mr. Gandhi has since decided to convert the Ashram into a colony for ' Harijans'. Applications to reside there are to be addressed to Amritlal V. Thakkar, Secretary of the All-India Anti-untouchability League. Two families have already arrived and are living at the Ashram.

It is intended to open a tannery there when there is a sufficient number of inmates.

Chimanlal Narsidas is a Bania by caste ; his age is about 35 years and his native place is Godhavi in Sanand Mahal.

Chhotalal Parshotam is a native of Bhadran (Baroda State). He now resides at Bholagar's Wadi in Ahmedabad. He was convicted in 1930 for placing his house at the disposal of the Gujarat Prantik Samiti. He is related to Gopaldas Ambadas Desai of Borsad fame.

(Sd.) A. W. PRYDE,
D. S. P., Ahmedabad.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 295]

**Extract from a weekly report No. S.P.O.X. (VI)-53, dated
the 11th October 1933, from the District Magistrate,
Ahmedabad.**

3. Mr. Gandhi has decided to sell the Navjiwan Press. He also addressed a long letter to Mr. G. Birla proposing the handing over of the Ashram to a committee for the following purposes :

- (a) that approved Harijan families be settled in the Ashram,
- (b) that a hostel for Harijan boys and girls with liberty to take non-harijans be opened,
- (c) that a technological department be started to teach the art of skinning carcasses, tanning the hides so obtained, curing and manufacturing leather so prepared into shoes, sandals and other articles of daily use.
- (d) that the premises should also be used as offices for the Central Board or the Gujarat Provincial Organization or both and such other altered uses that the Committee may think proper.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11), Part II, p. 291]

CONFIDENTIAL

No. C.N.J.P. I-67

From

A. H. Dracup, Esquire, B.A. (Cantab),
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad ;

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.

Ahmedabad, 10th October 1933

Sir,

With reference to your confidential No. S.D. 4181, dated 29th August 1933, I have the honour to report that the Ashram has been evacuated. Mr. Chimanlal Narsidas has engaged four Pathans to watch the buildings

and land. A copy of the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad's No. C/878, dated 4th October 1933 accompanies.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A.H. DRACUP,
District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

H. M.,

Mr. Gandhi is the head and founder of civil disobedience. It is out of the question to allow him to see his followers, in prison.

(Sd.)
R. D. B.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 3]

CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, BELGAUM
Dated 20th January 1934.

From

The Superintendent,
Central Prison, Belgaum ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that from letters of ' B ' Class C. D. O. prisoner No. 11499, Mahadeo Haribhai Desai confined here, it is expected that Mr. Gandhi and his companions on their tour' are very likely to apply for an interview with him when they come to this District. It is reported that Mr. Gandhi is expected in the Belgaum District early next month.

2. As per your confidential letter No. 754, dated 1st December 1930, interview by prisoner Mahadeo Desai with Mr. Gandhi and other undesirable persons will not be permitted, unless the persons, applying for the interview, are close relatives of the prisoner.

3. Your orders, if necessary, are requested in this connection.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) D. J. D'SOUZA,
Superintendent,
Central Prison, Belgaum.

[H .D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 1]

CONFIDENTIAL

URGENT

No. 30 of 1934.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 25th January 1934

From

Lt.-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency ;

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from the Superintendent, Belgaum Central Prison, and to request that I may be favoured with the views of Government on the point raised. I am personally not in favour of an interview with Mr. Gandhi being permitted.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay, Presidency.

[H .D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 5]

The Superintendent, Belgaum Central Prison, expects that when Mr. Gandhi and his companions come on a tour to Belgaum next month, they will probably apply for an interview with ' B ' Class prisoner Mahadeo H. Desai. The Superintendent states that as per Inspector-General of Prison's Confidential No. 754,* (*Copy not sent), dated the 1st December 1930 no interview will be permitted, unless the persons are close relatives of the prisoner. The Inspector-General of Prisons is not in favour of an interview with Mr. Gandhi being permitted.

2. We have not got* (**vide* Secretary's query at p. 1 ante) a copy of the Inspector-General of Prisons' Circular No. 754, dated the 1st December 1930, referred to by the Superintendent in his letter. Probably that circular contained instructions similar to those which the Inspector-General of Prisons was asked to issue to Superintendents of Jails in the event of a renewal of the civil disobedience movement—*vide* (1) H. D., Circular No. 7403/2-I, dated 8th July 1931, which was cancelled by H. D. Memo. No. 7403/2-I, dated 7th August 1931, and the papers underlying them, and (2) the instructions in Part IV-2 of the C.D.O. Manual in regard to "Interviews and unauthorised correspondence". Under those instructions, visitors who are known to be prominent agitators should always be refused permission, unless they are relatives of the prisoner, in which case special care should be taken to see that the conversation is limited to authorised subjects. (*Vide* rule 462 of the Bombay Jail Manual).

3. In the Government of India, H. D., letter No. S. 196, dated the 19th February 1930, printed in the preamble of G. R., H. D. No. 6039/2-V, dated the 3rd April 1930 (page 150 of the C. D. Manual), it has been laid down (page 154) that 'B' Class prisoners may have an interview once a month subject of course to the usual restrictions prescribed in the Jail Manual. Rule 455 of the Jail Manual allows interviews with friends but under rule 469 a Superintendent can refuse an interview, if he thinks that this is inexpedient in the public interests, but he is required to record his reasons in his Order Book.

4. We may perhaps agree that prisoner Mahadeo Desai should not be allowed to have an interview with Mr. Gandhi or with members of his party unless any of these are his close relatives.

D. O. H./27th January.

Received Secretary, H. D.,

27th January.

The chief objection that I see is the excitement which such an interview might cause among other civil disobedience prisoners in Hindalga jail. On the whole it would seem best to establish the principle that Gandhi will not be allowed in any of our prisons while he remains in open sympathy with a certain section of the prisoners. I do not suppose that he and Mahadeo Desai would do one another much harm, but the latter would probably find some way of stirring up Mr. Gandhi's 'Humanitarian' feelings on behalf of himself or other prisoners, and we have seen from Miss Slade's case how ready he is to take up any allegations against prison authorities.

We may therefore perhaps agree that Superintendent should refuse under Rule 469.

R. M. M.

29th January.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 9]

No. S.D. 352

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 31st January 1934

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 30, dated the 25th January 1934, regarding the question whether prisoner Mahadeo Haribhai Desai should be permitted to interview Mr. M. K. Gandhi and any of his companions during their forthcoming tour, I am directed to state that Government agree that the Superintendent, Belgaum Central Prison, should refuse, under Rule 469 of the Bombay Jail Manual, interviews with Mr. Gandhi or with members of his party unless any of the latter are close relatives of the prisoner.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. M. M.,

31st January.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 15]

No. S.D. 405

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Bombay Castle, 6th February 1934

From

R. M. Maxwell, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,
Coonoor.

Sir,

With reference to your telegram, dated the 3rd February 1934, I am directed to inform you that Government regret that they cannot allow you

to interview prisoners Mahadev Desai and Maniben Patel at present confined in the Belgaum Central Prison.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. M. M.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.
6th February.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 11]

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Received here at 15 H. 16 M.

O LB OONOR R. S. 3 341 SECRETARY HOME DEPT. B'BAY

I EXPECT BE BELGAUM ON SIXTH MARCH COULD I SEE MANI-BEHN PATEL AND MAHADEV DESAI PRISONERS CENTRAL PRISON HINDALGA GOVERNMENT KNOW MY INTIMATE CONNECTION WITH BOTH GANDHI.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (16)-C, p. 13]

Please see Mr. Gandhi's telegram of 3rd February 1934 at p. 11 ante in which he states that he expects to be in Belgaum on the 6th of ' March' and asks whether he could see prisoners Maniben Patel and Mahadev Desai in the Belgaum Central Prison. He refers to his intimate connection with both the prisoners. It is presumed however that, in view of the decision already arrived at that prisoner Mahadev Desai should not be permitted to interview Mr. Gandhi or any of his companions during his forthcoming tour in Belgaum, Mr. Gandhi should be informed that Government regret that they cannot allow him to interview either Mahadev Desai or Maniben Patel.

2. We have no definite information as to the exact date on which Mr. Gandhi is expected to be in Belgaum, but the Superintendent of the Belgaum Central Prison stated that he was likely to be there early this month. He is expected at Bijapur on the 16th instant. It is quite possible that ' Sixth March ' in the telegram is a mistake for ' Sixth February' as otherwise there would appear to be no point in Mr. Gandhi sending a telegram. It is however for orders whether the reply to Mr. Gandhi should be by telegram or by letter.

(Sd.) ,
3rd February 1934.

Please see the noting at p. 6-7 ante, and the instructions sent to the Inspector-General of Prisons at p. 9. As Mr. Gandhi has addressed the request which was then anticipated, directly to Government the reply may be as proposed at ' A' above in regard to both prisoners. As we do not know Mr. Gandhi's programme the reply will be sent by telegram.

R. M. M.
4th February.

H. M.
H. E. (P. S. G.).
(Sd.), (Brabourne).
5th February 1934.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)

It will be seen from Mr. Gandhi's tour programme published in the *Free Press Journal* of 4th February 1934 that he is due to be in Belgaum on the 5th and 6th March next. It is for orders therefore whether the reply to Mr. Gandhi's telegram should be by letter. If so, the draft letter (with f. c.) put up may issue.

(Sd.) ,
6th February 1934.

(Sd.) R. M. M.,
6th February.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (77)-B-II, pp. 265-273]

KESARI OFFICE, POONA 2
June 22, 1934

Dear Mahatmaji,

The people in the Indian States desire to ascertain your individual opinion on certain matters affecting themselves, so that we may move the Congress to consider, in the light of your opinion, the desirability of defining its policy on certain questions more precisely than at present and modifying it somewhat on certain others.

The first question that we would bring to your notice in this connection is the necessity of the Congress taking up for solution problems pertaining to the States. The Congress has now given up its traditional policy of ' keeping itself unspotted ' from the States. It recruits members in the States and brings them under the control of its district and provincial committees. The accession of strength that it has thus received from the States is by no means negligible; nor are these members sleeping partners in the Congress activities, although these activities concern mostly British India alone. On the other hand, even in such movements as civil disobedience, they have

proved good comrades-in-arms and have cheerfully borne their share of the burden, realising that British India and Indian India are essentially one and indivisible and that the concerns of one are necessarily the concerns of the other also.

We think that time has now arrived for the Congress to respond to this spirit of good comradeship exhibited by the States' people by putting all its weight and prestige behind their efforts at self-emancipation. At the Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928) Sessions the Congress no doubt pleaded for the establishment of democratic Swaraj in the Indian States and extended its sympathy to the inhabitants thereof. The Calcutta resolution is well worth quoting here *in extenso* ;

" This Congress urges on the ruling princes of the Indian States to introduce responsible Government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free press and security of person and property. This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible Government in the States."

We make no doubt that a similar resolution will be reiterated at the sessions that will be held hereafter, but may we not hope that the Congressmen in British India will lend active help to the people in the Indian States in achieving political freedom even as the Congressmen in Indian India gave a measure of help to British Indians in their attempts to realise their destiny ? Of the two British Indians are much the more advanced, but in fact help has flown far more from the States' people to British Indians than from British Indians to the States people. Do you not think it desirable to advise British Indians, in the name of the Congress to support actively, even by undergoing suffering if necessary, all legitimate movements for the establishment of popular Government in the Indian States under the aegis of their rulers ? Such comradeship shown on both sides, it appears to us, will cement the two Indians far more firmly than any formal federation can.

Another question, of even greater urgency, on which the Congress must determine its policy is its attitude towards those parts of the White Paper scheme which relate to the Indian States. The authorities of the Congress have declared the scheme to be unacceptable because it does not satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people. May we say that the provisions concerning the States are far from acceptable to the States' people and may we hope that the actual acceptance or otherwise of these provisions will be made to depend upon their wishes ? The future constitution of India, which, according to the Congress intentions, is to take the place of the White Paper constitution, will be based upon the principle of self-determination given effect to by a Constituent Assembly. It is implied that the federal scheme

that will be evolved by this Assembly will be the result of the agreement between the people in British India on the one hand and those in the Indian States on the other?

While on this subject it would be well to refer to the apprehensions that have arisen in the mind of the Indian States' people by some passages in your speeches at the Round Table Conference. You pleaded earnestly in this Conference with the rulers of the Indian States for allowing the States' representatives in the federal legislature to be chosen by election and for allowing the fundamental rights of the States' people to be written into the federal constitution and placed under the protection of the federal court. But your pleadings on this occasion have given rise to an impression that if the Princes did not agree, as they did not and do not agree, you would accept a constitution in which provisions of the kind that you suggested did not find a place. If this impression is well founded, we cannot help saying, and saying it straight out, that you have done a grave wrong to the States' people. If you think that nomination by the Princes, for instance, must be acquired in, if necessary, in the existing circumstances, we will only beg you to refer the matter to the States' people themselves in order to ascertain what their wishes are in this respect. The right of self-determination of the Indian States' people is no less sacred than that of British Indians.

But it has been explained to us that in expressing your views in favour of the election of the States' representatives and the protection of the fundamental rights of the States people in the way you did, you wished it to be understood by the rulers of the States that if they did not agree to do what you urged upon them you would not admit them into the federation. You meant these to be essential conditions of federation, but you did not express yourself in this categorical manner only because, at the time you spoke, federation was still shrouded in uncertainty. If this be your meaning, we would entreat you to make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt, for we know that the rulers of the States are putting a different interpretation upon what you said. They are representing that you are ready to put up with nomination by the Princes, for instance, for an indefinite length of time. It is necessary that your meaning should be made plain for the Swarajist Conference at Ranchi made it known that their party (which is now only a wing of the Congress) would follow the lines of your speeches at the R. T. C. in framing the future constitution. Since in the final determination of the Congress policy on these points your personal view plays such a decisive part, we are anxious to know whether election of the States' people and a declaration of rights in their interest are, in your opinion, merely desirable features of a federation or essential conditions thereof. There are various other matters connected with the federal constitution which require careful consideration on the part of the Congress, but we do not wish to trouble you with them at the present moment. We would only

beg you to give us an unequivocal statement of your views on the points raised in this letter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) N. C. KELKAR,
President,
All-India States' People Conference.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (77)-B-II, pp. 123-25]

**Extract from the Weekly Confidential Report of the Commissioner
of Police, Bombay, No. 2982/H/3717, dated the 18th June 1934.**

WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS 17TH JUNE 1934.

At 4-30 p.m. the members of the Working Committee of the Congress met at Mani Bhuwan under the Presidentship of Jamnalal Bajaj, the Acting President of the Indian National Congress. The following members were present;

- (1) M. K. Gandhi.
- (2) M. S. Aney.
- (3) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
- (4) Abul Kalam Azad.
- (5) Dr. Syed Mahmood.
- (6) K. F. Nariman.

The Working Committee passed a resolution regarding the policy of the Congress towards the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award. I give below the authorised report of the resolution of the Working Committee on the subject :

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress policy on the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress policy on these matters as follows :

The White paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all, the communities composing the Indian nation and therefore in view of division of opinion can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts.

At the same time it is necessary to redeclare the policy of the Congress on the Communal question :

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of the national which is agreed to by all the parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory besides being open to serious objections on other grounds.

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

The Congress Working Committee then approved of the following draft constitution and rules of business of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

DRAFT

2nd July 1934

Dear Mr. Kelkar,

The unusual demand upon my time is the excuse for delay in replying to your letter of 22nd June last.

Instead of dealing directly with the points raised by you, I propose to define my own policy regarding the Indian States.

The policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States that the Congress has followed is wise and sound.

The States are independent entities under the British law. That part of India which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has (say) that of Afghanistan or Ceylon.

I wish it were otherwise, but I recognise my impotence in the matter. India of the States is undoubtedly an integral part of geographical India, But that carries us no further than where we stand today. Portuguese and French India are also an integral part of geographical India, but we are powerless to shape the course of events there.

We enrol members from the State in the Congress. We receive considerable assistance from them. It is not want of appreciation or will that compels our non-interference. It is our helplessness.

It is my conviction that any attempt on the part of the Congress at interference can only damage the cause of the people in the States. But there is nothing to prevent us from urging the States to adopt a certain policy.

I am of opinion that whatever we are able to accomplish in British India is bound to affect the States.

I would like the States to grant autonomy to their subjects and would like the Princes to regard themselves as and be in fact trustees for the people over whom they rule, drawing for themselves only a small and definite percentage of the income. I have certainly not lost hope that the Princes will deem it a pride to become real trustees of their people. I do not seek to destroy their status. I believe in the conversion of individuals and societies.

What I said at the Round Table was in the nature of an appeal made to the Princes. It certainly did not imply that whether they listened to the appeal or not, the Congress would enter the Federation. I had no authority to bind the Congress to any such thing. The Congress entering the Federation had to depend upon many other circumstances beyond the attitude of the Princes. If ever Federation comes, it will surely depend upon mutual adjustment.

I hope I have covered all the points you have raised. If I have not, please write to me again. I have written this under great pressure of work.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Shri N. C. Kelkar,
Kesari Office, Poona City.

He is in ' B ' Class cells which are good and have plenty of air and therefore there is no reason for recommending him to sleep out.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) B. F. EMINSON, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Medical Officer, Central Prison,
Hyderabad-Sind.

No. 4778 of 1934
HYDERABAD CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 28th May 1934

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona, with reference to his express letter No. 6932, dated 25th May 1934.

This prisoner is not allowed to sleep in the open air.

(Sd.) W. LAXTON,
Superintendent,
Hyderabad Central Prison.

[TRUE COPIES]

(Sd.) S. R. CHAUBAL,
Personal Assistant, to Inspector-General of Prisons.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (89)-A, Part I, p.

**Copy of Resolution V passed at the 48th Session of the Indian
National Congress held in Bombay on the 26th, 27th
and 28th October 1934**

V. The All-India Village Industries Association

Whereas organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village reorganisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries—besides the central industry of hand-spinning and whereas this work, like the re-organisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress. *Shri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji an association called the ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION as part of the activities of the Congress.* The said association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

[H. D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (89)-A-I, p. 21]

**Extract from the Government of India's appreciation of the political
situation for Dominions of February 1935**

Some interesting comments of Mr. Gandhi's retirement in 1924 and his nominal withdrawal from Congress this year to be found in a book entitled 'The Indian Struggle' 1920-34 by the Bengal leader, Mr. S. C. Bose, a book which is such a direct encouragement to direct action and left wing activities; if not to actual terrorism, that it has been banned from importation into India. Referring to the early period Mr. Bose wrote as follows :

" Under Mr. Gandhi's leadership the All-India Spinners Association was extending its branches all over the country. Through this organisation, the Mahatma was once again building up his own party which was to be of invaluable service to him when he desired to capture the Congress machinery again ". Referring to more recent events, he observes : " Today the person of the Mahatma may not be in the Congress Committee, but his party is there, stronger than ever. Moreover he has direct control over the most important department of future Congress activity—the Village Industries Association. The so-called retirement of the Mahatma will not accordingly diminish his hold over the Congress machinery in any way—but will enable him to disown all responsibility for the failure of the official Congress party during the next few years. His retirement therefore is only one of his strategic retreats to which he is in the habit of resorting, whenever there is a political slump in the country."

[H.D. (Spl. Br.), File No. 800 (40) (11)-B, p. 345]

(A) The report referred to at ' A ' cannot of course be guaranteed. It might be supposed that Mrs. Gandhi would be held to be bound by the same moral obligation as Mr. Gandhi, but we may as well wait until she does something to prove the contrary. When she does the suspension of her sentence can be cancelled and she can be reimprisoned without a fresh sentence at any time.

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
25th September
(H. Secretary)

H. M.,

Resubmit about the time when Mrs. Gandhi's sentence would have expired in the ordinary course (1st February 1934).

R. D. BELL
25th September

(Sd.) R. D. BELL,
25th September
(H. Member)

Mrs. Gandhi was sentenced to six months' S. I. (no fine) on the 8th August. The sentence would therefore have expired in the ordinary course on the 7th February 1934. The case will therefore be resubmitted on the 1st February 1934.

Secretary

(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL,
29th September

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS**Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Parasram of Sabarmati.**

SABARMATI

27th August 1932

Revered Sir,

With respectful salutations. Your letter was (duly) received. I welcome it with joy and extreme enthusiasm. I pondered over it and also repeated the name of Rama. I was struck with the sentence Original in Gujarati. ' May you be blessed' and considered it attractive. That sentence was indicative of fatherly love and such as would overcome difficulties. My heart is full of gratitude towards you. I have been benefitted by following the path indicated by you. I consider it a great good fortune that you should purge a youth like me, who is unstable, irregular and wayward of his mistakes. You have saved me from many calamities by your foresight. We people did not receive so much guidance from you while (you were) moving about in the country as we do now-a-days. You have an all-pervading form and a mighty soul; I am a dwarf (with the height) of a span. I have suffered the immediate consequences of not obeying your orders in thought, word and deed. One who has burnt his tongue with (hot) milk drinks buttermilk after blowing on it with his mouth. Therefore, I consider even your hint as an irrevocable truth. Your order deserves to be obeyed. Had you not in the first instance asked me to communicate the afflictions of my mind to Narayandasji or to yourself I would never have troubled him. The presumption of which I am guilty has been committed for the attainment of that object and not out of infatuation. I hope you will excuse me for my fault in not seeking an opportune moment and using appropriate expressions and style (in expressing my thoughts) I have dedicated to you whatever I have done and said, and I have done it in a spirit of service. You have created a new angle of vision, established a new standard and originated a new thought current. You are an inexhaustible store of hope for indigent people like us and are their supporter and protector. You have been guiding me (lit. holding my rein) for the last twelve years. Whenever I showed fickleness you admonished me ; and I came to my senses whenever you pulled up the rein. O store (lit. heap) of austerities, I am still in a dejected condition owing to your getting angry (with me) once. To what a degraded condition will I attain by giving pain to your mind ? The collection (of merit) that remains to my lot is now not mine; you may snatch it away from me if you like. It is my duty to fear you. It has been (well) said by a sage : " I should be free from fear if I would fear you alone." You should, therefore, not get annoyed (with me). Let alone such a respected (man like) Narayandas Bhai, even if you appoint even Indu as my leader I am prepared to be guided by him. Have you forgotten your own words (to Anasuya Behen) to the effect that: ' Parasram does not ever quarrel with any one' ? I cannot stand against the hundredth part of the

burning rays of the deep experience, all-sided power of exposition, discriminating faculty and mental power you possess. It can never be said that the decision you have given is one-sided. Therefore the advice you have given without expecting a reply is really an appropriate one. One who practises universal love and who is a seeker after truth is my saviour. You are a 'soul manufacturer'. You have fashioned hundreds of souls, washed the sins of thousands and have guided lakhs on to the right path. You are an extraordinary personality. You are the very embodiment of the accumulated austerities of centuries of years. It is an extremely easy matter for you to discriminate between right and wrong (lit. water and milk). The prosperity visible in the ashram, nay in the whole of the country is due to your constant endeavours and your favours. Even in this old age you are immersed in untiring work and ceaseless thought. You have infused the power of thinking, vitality and humanity in us who were sunk in laziness. Even in respect of the kitchen in the ashram you have brought about transformation in about ten things. You have almost created a new world so far as mutual acquaintance, cleanliness, self-reliance, sympathy, social reform, saving of time, economy in expense etc. are concerned. What you have done (there), if seen in its true perspective, would constitute a panacea for the ills (lit. fever) of the whole world. I am an insignificant person from amongst your servants. I am destined to make mistakes. God alone knows when I shall be firm footed. I am making efforts (in that direction). May your wisdom be my guide. Not only my heart but the whole of this country in every direction is filled with your peaceful voice. Not only India but even Europe and America are reaping the benefits of your mature thoughts. The power that lies in your beneficent speech attracts every one to you quickly. You have removed from us, residents of the Ashram, to a very extent, doubt, irregularity, distrust, false thinking, want of faith, pride, obstinacy and hankering for power (lit. place). You have taught us (the principles of) disinterested service. The Superintendent you have appointed over us possesses several good qualities. I have respect for him in my heart and, even if I had none, I would have respectfully carried out your instructions. Our benefit lies in acting in accordance with your instructions. I consider this (Ashram) as an institution superior to all the fourteen universities in India. But the justice I had demanded from him in a domestic matter was received by me the next day. I ventilated my grievance before him on Saturday night and Sunday noon. A settlement was effected on Tuesday morning. I bring small matters to his notice and get satisfaction in respect of them. You have so far advised me to follow this line of action. You opened the way for me to write to you by your letter in reply to mine dated the 27th January 1932. But I did not write to you so far. I shall explain matters when I meet you. You attach more importance to unvoiced feelings than to what is put down in writing. You have taught the lesson of silent and passive suffering : I have, therefore, acted accordingly. I drew the attention of Mr. Na. Da. Bhai to some defects only thrice. But he was

displeased. I shall not say anything more for the present. Now your admonitions, thoughts and dreams no more form enigmas of the work-a-day world but have been included in (my) programme of work. I, therefore, consider it possible (for me) to be retrospective instead of regarding things external. I hope you will give me strength to attain this end. Please teach me to stand on my legs, instead of making me look up to others (for favours), and make me a recipient of your ideal goodness.

My tale of woes is a lengthy one and I shall narrate it to you when I learn the mode of expressing myself and when my words carry some weight when the fire of self-purification makes me pure and when I shall be freed from my former curse. I have begun to put your advice into practice fully. With your favours my sins will be burnt to ashes and the fine gold (of virtue) will shine out. I would ask you to effect my salvation. Perhaps Parnekarji, Titusji and Pt. Totaram also have recently had to undergo the sufferings I had to bear. I shall therefore gladly bear my sufferings.

Yours servant,

PARASRAM.

* * * * *

Respected Mahadevbhai,
Salutations.

The letter which I had written in connection with that affair of yours and had given to Joshiji was handed over by him to Sadanandji in person. But it is not yet published. He is afraid of (forfeiting) (Rs.) 6,000. I received a letter covering 12 pages from Dohat (Dohad ?) yesterday. I am giving (him) a translation of it. It will go tomorrow.

Salutations to Sardarji.

Yours

PARASRAM.

**Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Mr. Mahadev Joshi
of Indore**

KRISHNAPURA

House No. 79

Indore, 3rd September 1932

Respected Bapuji,
(I place my) love at your lotus feet.

Respectful representation : The world is in fact, worthless, but it becomes still more difficult for such men as have been entangled in the meshes of impossible and complicated problems. The progress of the man involved in (difficult problems) becomes awkward; a calm mind assumes an unsteady

disposition and qualities and distinguishing features assume a distorted appearance. But what sort of a time is this ? It is known to one who has (complete) experience (of the world). The unsteady mind loses its bearings and moves about seeking a refuge. It is obsessed with the idea of sifting the world. The heart does not secure peace even after turning pages after pages of books. It craves for living and shining example. It is satisfied by setting aside the veil of folly from the heart, by dispelling ignorance, by the realization of duty and by discriminating between truth and falsehood.

But disturbing thoughts create a storm in the calm sea (of the mind) and cause one to fall down from the goal (of one's ambitions). I have been entangled in the meshes of certain complicated problems and expect to be rightly guided (by you).

It is now two years that I have given up the use of sugar. Before that for three years I used to use Swadeshi sugar. But at a certain place foreign sugar was used in the name of swadeshi sugar and a dish made of foreign sugar was placed before me and I ate it. I fell from my vow. Therefore, I gave up the use of even swadeshi sugar.

From the very time I gave up the use of Swadeshi sugar I gave up going to take meals with my friends and ceased to attend caste dinners. On this account my caste people have become displeased with me saying : ' How far is it right on your part to profess to serve the community and at the same time to refrain from participating in communal affairs.

Similar conditions prevail at home. When some dish is prepared my relations say something or the other to me (by way of taunts). I have to listen to many words (of reproach) when I go to the houses of my friends or acquaintances and they make my position very awkward. You are fully aware of the innuendos hurled at the unmarried persons by those who are of the same age with them.

Very often a thought arises in my mind whether my action is right or not. At times I am convinced by their arguments. The pressure they bring upon me becomes unbearable. However, I do not care for it. They become displeased (with me) and feel insulted by my action. I fail to understand as to what I should do on such occasions. At times the question of health stands before me. People say that sugar is essential for health. But I have no experience in the matter. No (evil) effect has been produced on my health ever since I gave up the use of sugar.

No effect is produced on my relations by the reasons I advance for abstaining from sugar and they consider me an obstinate fool. How should I reason with them?

The second problem is that I am not still married. I have been persuaded, am being persuaded and shall continue to be persuaded by my near relations *to* get married. My old father who is 90 years of age wants me to get married in his life time because I lost my mother when I was about two and a half or

three years old. He remembers the sad event on seeing me without a mother. I told him about two years back that I did not wish to marry and since then he looks dejected and griefstricken on my account. All the limbs of his body have become benumbed by now but love for me afflicts him. I am the only child of my father. Two years ago he had decided to get me married but I flatly said 'no' to him. Whenever I get an occasion to speak to him he refers to the question of my marriage. Of late his eye sight has failed him. He places various questions before me and I answer them quite easily. But the question of general practice arises. His questions are as under : Can you not make any progress towards your goal by getting married ? Just consider whether all those who have a goal like yours remain aloof from worldly affairs. Do they not have wives and children ? Have they not entered upon the householder's life ? He continues to ask me such questions. At times I give him satisfactory answers and at times not. My replies fail to give him satisfaction.

I have placed my real condition before you and hope to receive proper advice from you.

Your favour seeking,

MAHADEV JOSHI.

3rd September 1932.

Mahadev Joshi,
Krishna Pura, House No. 79,
Indore City.

**Translation of a Hindi letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Umrao Prasad
Ameria of Calcutta.**

Aum.

2/3, Chittaranjan

Avenue South

Calcutta, 5th September 1932

Venerable feet,

Sincere obeisance.

At Chatra I received a post card written by you on the 22nd April 1931 and it contained (the following sentence) : " I can now reply to your letters and will continue to do so." However I again wrote a letter to you and I do not know why I did not receive a reply to it. In my opinion I should have received a reply. Well, what more can I write ? Your will be done. In accordance with the instructions contained in that post card I have brought my ailing child here. It is now nearly a month and a half that I have come here. I might have forgotten to write about the child, so I write something in brief. The child has been suffering from tuberculosis of the bones for the last five or six years. There are sores in both its hands and feet. Since his illness began he can only squat down; he cannot stand. I have tried all

ayurvedic, allopathic, homoeopathic treatments and after being disappointed I am now getting him treated by hydropathy. I saw you in this connection about the time of the Karachi Congress on your way to Karachi to Delhi. At that time you asked me to continue the treatment given to him and (said) that he should not be given bread and any other food but should be kept on such diet as milk, curds, grapes and oranges, and that he should be kept in the open air and regularly given a sun-bath for an hour every day. The treatment as directed was begun as you had advised me thus :

" It is your duty to nurse that child. Do not undertake any such national work as would come in the way of nursing him ". Though I have been a Congress worker for the last 11 years I had to remain aloof from the present agitation. I used to do Congress work upto 1930 and had been to jail also. The child did derive some benefit from the treatment indicated by you but no complete cure was effected and the reason for this may be that bread was not completely stopped as fruit was not available in Chatra. I wrote in detail to you at Yeravda temple, and you asked me to bring the child here. But after coming here sun-baths could not be given owing to lack of sunshine in the rainy season. Among fruits, grapes were given and I am now giving pomegranates for the last few days. As long as the child ate bread and grapes he showed some improvement. But after stopping the bread completely he was given grapes and raisins and no milk was given with the result that he suffered from pain in the stomach and passed three to four motions. I therefore stopped giving grapes for a day or two and gave him pomegranates, oranges and milk. But one day he vomitted at night. Now pus which used to form in less quantity in the sores began to flow as in the past. Perhaps the reason for this is the diet of some oranges. I believe milk also contributes to the formation of pus. You have told me that the evil effects of sour curds could be removed by the addition of soda; may I know what should be done to remove the evil effects of sour oranges ? Be pleased to write to me in the matter. Some times sour grapes are also given. Please let me know by return of post what arrangements should be made in respect of the diet of the child. He does not wish to give up bread. He is 13 years of age. Should he be made to give up bread completely and should he be allowed to take fruits with bread ? Is any harm done by milk or is it only my misconception ? If you think that it Would be advisable to give him pomegranates, grapes, oranges, milk, curds, please let me know in what proportion or quantities they should be given. Hoping to be excused for writing such a lengthy letter to you.

Your servant,
UMARAOPRASAD AMERIA.

(P. S.)

Please do not address me as your brother. I am like a son or a grandson to you. I am your humble servant in respect of national work. I hope you will pay heed to this request.

**Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Badaridatta Pande
of Almora**

Almora, 7th September 1932

Respected Mahatmaji,

I am a resident of this place. I joined you at Kausani in your journey to Almora. I accompanied you to Ramnagar and Kashipur. It was I who extended his hospitality to you for 12 or 13 days at Kausani. I was an M.L.O. for this place. I gave up that in accordance with the instructions issued by the Congress. I have gone to jail thrice. I have been doing public work for the last 20 years. I have been removed from the Chairmanship of the District Board for having taken part in the non-co-operation movement. These matters (however) are of a very ordinary nature.

But amidst these a grave calamity has befallen me. My eldest son Taraknath Pande, aged 19 years, who was studying in the B.Sc, (class) at Allahabad was drowned in the Ganges on the Krishna Janmashtami. His dead body was not even found. This said news reached me on the 23rd August. I was released at 8 O'clock on the night of the 24th August on Parole for 14 days. When I reached home my wife was lying in a senseless condition. The second son was then recovering, to some extent, from typhoid fever. Every one was involved in the darkness of grief. When my wife came to her senses after five days, news was received from Bombay that my eldest daughter aged 23 years burnt herself to death by pouring kerosene on her body on receiving the news of her brother's death. She went away into the Ocean (of eternity) leaving her husband Pt. Raghuvardatt Pantaji, who is a manager of a mill there, and two children (one 4 years old and another 4 months old) to mourn her loss. Great grief has befallen me after serving the country for 20 years at the age of 52 and my wife who is your devotee with her body, mind and wealth at the age of 43. Our perplexity is (greater than) that of Arjuna. You are our Govind our lord and remover of our fear and afflictions. Our path is dreary. Give the gift of life to your humble servant and to his half-dead wife by giving us a few words of consolation. We are immersed in great wretchedness. Alas ! People have been saying " This is the reward of over 20 years' service for the country." Please excuse me for my temerity. I stayed with Pt Jawaharlal for four months in Bareili. He does not believe in God while I do. He used to say to me in Bareili Jail: " Well, Mr. Pande you pray to God day and night, you do the *Pranayam* (breathing) exercises. How can one worship what does not exist at all ? Better if you read some good book or perform some good action." I am now involved in this perplexity. Be pleased to remove it. Lord, do send a few words of consolation.

Your servant,
BADRIDATTA PANDE.

Vishwa Bhuvan,
Jhijad, Almora.

Translation of a letter addressed by Gandhi to Seth Govindasji of Jaipur

8th September 1932

Brother Govinddas,

I have received your letter as well as the deed of renunciation. I have received them only today as they have been going round from one office of Government to another. I learn from the newspapers that the letters I wrote before this have been duly received.

Your deed of renunciation is a moving document and so is your father's letter. It is my opinion that he could not possibly do anything else. It is not an ordinary matter to be freed from attachment (to worldly affairs). The old people cannot be expected to show the power of renunciation which has arisen among the youths of the present generation. I have no hesitation (in saying) that you have only done the right thing in renouncing all that belonged to you. The incident of the year 1921 had gone out of my mind and I remember it now. I trust that love will now grow between you (two). It is possible now that your father will make some sort of self-sacrifice. It is a very good thing that you continue to entertain the same devotion for him. Had you the support of (your wife) Bindanidevi in (your) renunciation ? Is she educated ? I hope that she is improving in health day by day.

May God add to your purity (of life).

Sardarji and Mahadev send their congratulations to you.

I had read about your deed of renunciation but I did not consider it proper to write about it from this place. But now I have written this much as your letter has been allowed to reach me. I would like to suggest that this letter of mine may *not* be sent to the Press..

4th September 1932

After writing this I have received an acknowledgement of my post card. I hope that Bindanidevi is improving in health.

No. 8334 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 9th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay,
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter written in Hindi for favour of translation and early return.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I. M. S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8458 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 12th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from Mr. H. K. Hales, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to the addressee.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I. M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 8468 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 12th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay,
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two letters written in Hindi for favour of translation and early return.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I. M. S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

TELEGRAM

London.
D. Hr. Months.
13 9 10

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda please postpone fasting till I come starting immediately.

CHARLIE.

Charlie Andrews,
112, Gower Street,
London.

Received regard fasting Gods call only certain prospect withdrawal separate electorate for depressed can warrant postponement in my opinion your presence more useful there Vallabhbhai, Mahadev agree love.

GANDHI

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 5868
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, 13th September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In forwarding herewith a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Miss F. M. Barr of Karim Nagar, Hyderabad State, received through the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, I am directed to inform you that it may be delivered to the addressee.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.),
for officiating,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency,
Poona, 14th September 1932

My dear Bhandari,

I herewith return both cables.. that of State prisoner Gandhi to Mr. Andrews may be sent.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE.

O Q Delhi J 13 14.

Mahatma Gandhi Central Prison Yeravda distressed God spare you for humanity Asafali.

18.8

XF XK SS Cheshire Karachiradio 13 1430 GMT 12 Gandhi Yeravda

Gods help good days.

N November Fifteenth Indian Astrologer.
Krishna Swami.

12.3

O TB LAHORE 13 45

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona

Bandemataram I interviewed Sardarji today.

He was much shocked to hear about your terrible resolve. (Stop)

Prays responsible parties May soon see the light hopes.

Grievous wrong will be undone before it is too late.

Mrs. Sardulsing Kaveeshan

19.53

2084 London

LEO Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona.

Indian Conciliation group met under deep concern on hearing news

Stop bearing you constantly in our thoughts and prayers.

Health.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 822 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 14th September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by B. D. Lakshman of Benares
THE ALL-INDIA COLONIAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

K. E. H., Kamacha
Benares, 14th September 1932

Respected Father,
With respectful salutations.

I can only be pardoned for writing a letter to you at such a time, on the score of being your follower. You are aware that it is now five years since I returned from the Fiji island, and I have been serving Mother India to the best of my abilities. I have also been trying to render some service to colonial Indians in their travels and now I am making preparations to return (to Fiji).

I am now in a fix as to how to perform both these duties. I am placed in an awkward position. On the one hand, the piteous cry of travelling Indians is piercing my heart, and on the other, the sacrificial fire of Mother India is ready in which oblation is to be made on the 20th. I gave a thought to the matter for two days but could not solve it. Your decision alone will give me

satisfaction. Whether you give reasons (for your decision) or not, I stand in need of your instructions and blessings. I hope to receive a reply before the 20th (instant).

Your son,
B. D. LAKSHMAN

**Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Krishna Narayan
of Cawnpore.**

Respected Mahatmaji,
Respectful salutations.

Yesterday's papers have announced that you are going to undertake a fast from the 20th September. This resolve on your part is wholly improper. Please pardon me for this outspoken language.

I am like an insignificant child when compared to you ; perhaps I am as far from you in merit as the earth is from the sky ; but a talented man like you should accept right opinion and salutary advice and even from a fool.

A fast is undertaken for improving health or purifying the soul, and not for putting an end to life. Without life the soul cannot attain purification or salvation. A fast has no advantages or importance besides this.

In your sight your life may not be of any value, but your invaluable life is of very great importance to this country and the world. It is certain that this country and the rest of the world will be greatly benefited by your continuing to live.

In these circumstances, if you waste your life for certain insignificant things, the world will be deprived of the benefit to which it is entitled. The sin of this will rest on your head to a very great extent.

Bear this in mind that you have still to render very useful service to this country, nay, the whole of the world. I shall explain the whole matter to you when I meet you some day.

Hence for the sake of God, this country and the whole of the world do not in any way allow your very valuable life to be destroyed. I conjure you in the name of Swaraj and the Goddess of Liberty to desist your terrible vow in the interest of the world. Mind, Lord Krishnachandra himself broke his vow for the love of his dear devotee, Bhishma ! You are faced with the love of the whole world. What, then, should hinder you from breaking your vow in the interest of the whole world ?

What more can I write ? You yourself possess intelligence.

Your well-wishing servant,

KRISHNA NARAYAN

**Translation of a letter written to Mr. Gandhi by Mohanlal Vidyarthi
of Cawnpore**

From

Mohanlal Vidyarthi,
Christ Church College, Cawnpore.

Dear Mahatmaji,

My respectful salutations to you.

I write a letter to you before your departure for Dandi and had described my shortcomings therein. I am now twenty years of age. The time of youth is (generally) very difficult to pass. I have not come across any one who could guide me. When I entered the age of sixteen and joined the school 'activity' many temptations surrounded me. I did not possess the knowledge of good and evil then. The teachers in the school know nothing more than receiving their salaries and teaching the boys in return. They do not care for the moral and spiritual training of the boys. Parents do not exercise proper supervision over their children. I had to fall a victim to passions and temptations. My life assumed the aspect of a dream and when I woke up I realised that I had wasted some part of my life. I became disgusted with life and ran away to Bombay. I had, however, not the courage to put an end to my life. I came back.

In reply to my first letter you advised me not to take any food except milk and fruit, and to take hipbaths, and go out for a walk (regularly). I did not reply to your letter as you were (then) very much engrossed in politics. I wanted to tell you that fruit diet was very expensive for me and that if I took merely milk and fruit I would have had to spend As. 12 per day, i.e., Rs. 22-8 per month. I am not so rich and so I could not afford to take that sort of food. Should you think that fruit diet could be taken in a cheaper manner and that it would strengthen my body I would like to know as to how it could be done. I have come very despondent of life. I have tried by (constant) efforts to be abstemious in word and deed. But I cannot control my thoughts. I can prevent bad thoughts for 15 to 25 days but then they overwhelm me like a flood and I lose all courage. If I look at a woman not known to me I do not know what passion takes hold of me. I try to control my thoughts but I succeed in doing so less often than not. Now, at any rate, I can, keep my body in control even if the mind is disturbed to a very great extent. But I shall not be able to secure peace as long as my mind is not amenable to control. It is now more than four years that I have taken several medicines and subjected myself to the treatment of Vaidyas and doctors. After reading your (auto) biography I gave up the use of pulse and rice for a year and abstained from salt for some time. For some days I took nothing but fruit and used to go out for a walk for a long distance in the

morning and evening and used to get up at 4 a.m. I gave up the use of chillies and oil as well as sour and sweet things and began to take physical exercise. But I could not get rid of the complaint in spite of desperate efforts. Of late I have been able to keep even my mind in control but no good effect is forthcoming. I take nothing but fruit in the evening, but neither have I any appetite nor are my bowels kept clear, nor is any good effect produced (thereby). When I pray the heart is influenced to some extent for a day or two, but after that I feel as if I was repeating by rite a lesson committed to memory. 'Prayer' becomes a mere 'routine'. I wrote a letter to Vaidya Haridas of Muttra and he has sent a prescription costing Rs. 46. But it seems Rs. 46 will not suffice for the purpose. Please let me know whether I should place myself under the treatment of this Vaidya. His prescription is as under :

Vasantkusumakar Ras, 6 Mashas..	..	..	25
Shatavaradi Churna, 9 Tolas..	..	..	5
Tila (ointment), 3 Bottles	..	..	15
Chandanadi Tel (oil), 60 Tolas	..	..	12
			<hr/> 57
Discount to students..			11
		(Rs.)	<hr/> 46

I cannot afford to give the amount in a lump sum and do not know what to do. I take exercise but the body does not get strong. It seems that I shall now remain 'emaciated'. There is no strength or vigour left in me. 'It seems as if the blood has been sucked dry.'

I am sinking in the sea of despair. It seems the lamp of my life will soon be blown out. Neither can I serve my brothers nor am I able to do any good to the country. Now the only hope that is left is that your blessing and advice would give me some courage. Should I happen to live for two or three years (more) I shall come over to your *Ashram* and spend my life there. Now it has been my endeavour to tell the truth, to live a simple life and realise God within myself.

You will be grieved to know that the late Mr. Ganeshahankerji Vidyarthi was my maternal uncle and that notwithstanding that I cannot free myself from weakness and despair.

Yours son,

MOHAN

(P. S.)

Do you believe in incarnation ? Today the ' Principal' of my college tried to explain why the Christians consider Christ ' co-eternal with God'. He says that man is so constituted that he cannot understand God; that man is ' finite' and that God is ' infinite' and so God incarnates himself in human form so that man might understand him.... The Principal moreover added that ' thought cannot exist without language', and so God must be knowing language and that God must have centred His love on some object before creating the world and so Christ could reveal the language of God as God loved Christ. By ' infinite' my principal means : ' a being who is not subject to limitation from without but who can limit himself whenever he likes'. His ' infinite ' does not imply that like the ' mathematical' zero, God cannot assume the form of a finite (being) like a man. His belief, therefore, is that God incarnated in the form of Christ so that Christ might be able to teach man to understand the glory of God. My Principal does not say that Christ is the only incarnation of God on earth ; he considers Rama and Lakshmana as incarnations of God. But according to my humble opinion God dwells in every man and that if man discards sin and loves all, serves all and lives with 'humanity' then he can make himself one with the inner dwelling God and become God himself, that is to say, he can realise God and ' merge' himself in Him. I fail to understand how God can incarnate in a single individual by entering his body. What is your opinion (in the matter) ? Have you established such a control over your thoughts that you would soon be able to see this divine flame ? It is hoped that you will satisfy my doubts.

Do you believe that there is a spark of divinity in every man and that every one cannot bring out that latent spark and so the need arises for an incarnation, so that that incarnation might convert that ' latent' (spark) into ' patent' (God) and that that incarnation might be able to make manifest the indwelling flame ? Can there be faith in God through reason ? Such questions arise in our class during the period set apart for religion. Will you give me the name of any such book as would enable me to secure the knowledge of true religion ?

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8597 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 15th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to the addressee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

O IB CALCUTTA. V 15 34

Mahatma Gandhi Jail Poona Yeravda.

Pray dont fast live save.

Nonviolence helpless Englishmen from violence.

Anils death fatally stabbed nonviolence

Bengal Independence cure communalism existence Useless without you permit my starvation.

SUSULGUHA

10 15

Calcutta.

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona.

Much upset but fully appreciate your decision firmly believe that God willing not only crisis shall be averted but much good can come out of it stop have started work already in two directions firstly mobilising depression opinion in favour of joint electrorate secondly persuading Caste Hindus to open temples wells and remove untouchability hope you coming out soon meanwhile please send instructions for line of action stop please consider my suggestion that fast be begun from first October to give ample time for work stop make your headquarters at Madras a strong of untouchables and Caste Hindus alike.

GHANASHYAMDAS

O RH Calcutta AST. 15 51.

Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona.

Released learnt all the jail gate your life seems to be a trust reposed on the people hope God will be merciful to us but supposing we fail to discharge our duty life then would not then be worth living.

SATISH

18.33

O OD Karachi M C 15 50

Mahatma Gandhi Prisoner Yeravda Poona

Without entering merits your decision let me urge time one week given by you is not fair to yourself or country or leaders depressed classes or other workers to bring round parties concerned earnestly urge give at least eight weeks.

JAMSETH NASARWANJI

18-17.

O SL RANGOON 15 20

Mahatma Gandhi Central Prison Yeravda Poona.

Your life too costly hence I am undergoing hungerstrike till you reconsider.

KASIVISHVANATHAN

19-6

O. TK Bombay 15 53

Mahatmaji Yeravda Poona.

Shocked and grieved to hear of your resolve efforts for amicable settlement begun pray postpone fast for some time appeal to you to consent to reservation on population basis under joint electorates for depressed classes reasonable chances of compromise on this basis.

NARAYANRAO DESAI TOPIWALA President.

Deccan Merchants Association Bombay.

20-5

Shrinagar.

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Stunned pray reconcile world wants you.

KRISHNAGOPAL BUTT OF SIALKOT

Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona.

Your decision has stunned India she cannot afford to loose you pray give time to Hindus and depressed classes to confer and reach an agreed settlement.

DUNICHAND AMBALA

Poona

M. K. Gandhi C/o Superintendent Yeravda Jail Poona.

Great Mahatmaji with all humanity at command pray announce your whole hearted to Raja Moonje Paot saving Hindu community disruption spare country terrible strain proposed fast may put upon it.

S. M. MATE

Calcutta

Mahatma Gandhi through Superintendent Yeravda call Poona.

Your fasting decision roused consciousness of all classes leaders trying settlement consider postponing fast under altered circumstance.

WAHEDHUSAN

Allahabad

Mahatma Gandhi care Superintendent Yeravda Jail Poona

Earnestly appeal to refrain you from fasting untill you have once again tried to settle depressed classes question stop if you fail none else can succeed in this matter stop you must live to remove this blot from Hindu society.

SAPRU.

CONFIDENTIAL

Very Urgent

Shown to H. M. The wire from Mr. Raja Gopalachariar may be delivered to Mr. Gandhi. The request of Mr. Rustom Vakil should be refused, and there is no need to deliver the telegram sent by him to Mr. Gandhi.

Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. S.D. 5915 dated 15th September 1932.

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) S. R. CHAUBAL.

Report on the Health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi

15th September 1932

We have medically examined him and the report of the examination is as follows :

General condition..	..	Good.
<i>Chest:</i>		
Respiratory system..	..	Both lungs normal. No foreign sounds are heard, and air entry is perfect.
Circulatory system..	..	Heart sounds and Rhythm normal.
Pulse..	..	68 per minute and regular.
Liver and spleen ..	..	Not palpable.
Bowels..	..	Regular.

<i>Central nervous system</i>	Normal.
<i>Urine examination :</i>	
Colour	Straw coloured and clear.
Specific gravity	1010.
Reaction	Acid.
Sugar	Nil.
Albumen	Nil.
Phospates	Present slight.
Microscopic deposition	Crystals of triple phospates and few disquamated epithelial cells present.
<i>Muscular system</i>	Normal but the external epicondyle of the left humerus from where the extensors of the forearm arise is slightly swollen and painful on—supination and on use of the forearm in a supinated state. The condition is allied to " Tennis—Elbow " is—likely to recover by continuous and prolonged rest. Treatment in the shape of fermentations counter irritants massage, rest and diathermy has been given a prolonged trial.
20th September 1932.	
11 a.m.	Weight: 101 lbs. He has lost 1½ lbs. from his previous weight probably due to overwork and insufficient sleep.
11-5 a.m.	Took a glass of mixture of honey and water, and juice of 2 sweet limes. States he feels quite fit. Pulse 68 per minute.
12 Noon	Fast commences.
8 p.m.	Cheerful. On enquiry states that he is not feeling fatigued.

15th September 1932.

No. 8608 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Madras.
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona.

Deeply distressed can I see you immediately discuss matters regarding fast is the fast or at least the date open reconstruction in view much delayed publication letters enough time not given parties and communal us concerned.

C. RAJGOPALCHARI CARE KHADI VASTRALAYA
ESPLANADE.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Reply paid Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona if
Ambedkar met Sri Meherbaba last night I want see you important wire+
RUSTOM IRANI AGRA ROAD.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Reply paid Superintendent Yeravda Jail Poona if—
Request permission to interview Mahatma Gandhi on sixteenth.

RUSTOM IRANI.

Rustom Irani,
Agra Road, Nasik.

Regret interview cannot be granted.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI

Dear Major Bhandari,

Thanks for promptly sending the two important telegrams. If you have authority to pass replies I would like you to send accompanying replies by express message.

You will see in my reply to Rajagopalachari that I have said that he could come whenever he chooses, This I have done in the belief that the fact of

your sending me a telegram asking for interview presupposes authority for you to grant it. In case you want to see the original telegrams I enclose them herewith and you will please return them tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Yeravda, 15th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8596 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 15th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter written by ' A ' Class prisoner Mrs. S. Naidu to Dr. Ambedkar, and to enquire whether the same should be allowed to go on.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8597 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 15th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith 2 telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to the addressee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON

15th September 1932

My dear Cornel,

I herewith enclose four more telegrams from M. K. G. kindly let me know if they should be delivered.

Yours sincerely,

M. G. BHANDARI.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS

Bombay Presidency,

Poona 16th September 1932

My dear Bhandari,

In returning all three sets of telegrams and also those from Mr. Gandhi. I am directed to inform you that Government are not at present prepared to sanction the interview with Mr. Rajagopalachari. Mr. Gandhi may be informed accordingly to the telegram modified.

Both telegrams may then be despatched as requested.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8604 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 16th September 1932

From

Major M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to me and also two telegrams and the replies which he wishes to send. Both these telegrams were issued to him with your approval.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Satisbabu,

Khadipratishthan,
Sodepur.

Wire received you have accurately read my heart Wire your health Hemaprabhas Aruns concerned no letter from her long time wrote several myself. Love.

BAPU

Jamshed Mehta,
Karachi.

Pray do not ask me alter decision taken Gods name and at His call if he will keep me alive notwithstanding fast till settlement reached. How is Kikiben? Love.

GANDHI

Sir Tejbahadur Sapru,
Allahabad.

Thanks wire you will not ask or expect me to alter decision taken Gods name It was just my helplessness that prompted decision If God wills it body will hold out against fast long enough for settlement which you and other friends outside can alone negotiate.

GANDHI

TELEGRAM EXPRESS

From

Gandhi ;

To

C. Rajagopalachar,
Khadi Vastralaya, Esplanade, Madras.

" Received no cause distress on contrary expect you rejoice mat a comrade has God given opportunity for final act Satyagraha in cause of most downtrodden date not open reconsideration can see you whenever you come."

TELEGRAM EXPRESS

From

Gandhi;

To

Ghanshyamdas Birla,
Birla Park, Ballygunj, Calcutta.

" Received no cause being upset every cause for rejoicing that God given opportunity has come to me for offering final sacrifice, for most downtrodden. Am quite certain fast must not be postponed utterly incapable send helpful instructions from here or foresee future action."

EXPRESS

C. Rajagopalachar,
Khadi Vastralaya, Esplanade, Madras.

Received no cause distress on contrary expect you rejoice that a comrade has God given opportunity for final Act Satyagraha in cause of most down- trodden date not open reconsideration can see you if you get permission.

GANDHI

M. K. Gandhi,
Prisoner, Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 5909

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 15th September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 819 dated the 13th instant, I am directed to return herewith the letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Mr. H. K. Hales of Calcutta, and to inform you that it should be withheld.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.),

for Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay.
Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 827 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Poona, 16th September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments for information and guidance with reference to his Confidential No. 8458 dated 12th September 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

No. 8611 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

From Major M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison ;

To The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for favour of orders, three telegrams which State prisoner M. K. Gandhi, desires to despatch.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

1. Telegram to Jamshed Mehta, Karachi.
2. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.
3. Satish Babu, Sodepur.

No. 828 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, POONA
Dated 16th September 1932

R. W. C.

The three telegrams may be despatched as requested.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt. Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. 8623 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) o/c M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,,
Yeravda Central Prison.

16th. September 1932

TELEGRAM

From

Gandhi;

To

Jamshed Mehta, Karachi.

" Pray do not ask me alter decision taken Gods name and His call if he wills it He will keep me alive notwithstanding fast till settlement reached. How is Kikiben ? " Love.

From

Gandhi;

To

Sir Tejbahadur Sapru, Allahabad.

" Thanks wire you will not ask or expect me to alter decision taken Gods name. It was just my helplessness that prompted decision. If God wills it body will hold out against fast long enough for settlement which you and other friends outside can alone negotiate."

From

Gandhi;

To

Satishbabu,
Khadipratishthan, Sodepur.

" Wire received you have accurately read my heart. Wire your health Hemaprabhas Aruns concerned no letter from her long time. Wrote several myself. Love."

BAPU.

No. 8603 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 16th September 1932

From

M. G. Bhandari, Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith the following five telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to the addressees.

From

Satish, Calcutta,
Jamshed Nusserwanji, Karachi.
Kasiviswanathan, Rangoon.
Narayanrao Desai Topiwala, President, Deccan Merchants Association,
Bombay.
Krishnagopal Dutt of Sialkot (Srinagar).

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8604 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

From

Major, M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to me and also two telegrams and the replies which he wishes to send. Both these telegrams were issued to him with your approval.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8610 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932'

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter addressed to us from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi together with a statement to the Associated Press for publication, if approved by Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

Dear Major Bhandari,

I would like the enclosed statement to the Associated Press for publication forthwith if the Government approve of the course.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8652 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 17th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith *2 post cards written by State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same should be allowed to go on. In these he has referred to a certain statement such to you under this office No. 8610 dated 16th September 1932.

*1. Post card to S. M. Mate, Poona.

*2. Narayan Desai Topiwala, Bombay.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8620 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932.

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from Mrs. S. Naidu addressed to me. She requests to have an interview with State prisoner M. K. Gandhi. Will you kindly inform me whether her request can be granted ?

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8621 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two letters and a copy of Vernacular paper called " Dalitbandhu " received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether they can be allowed to the addressee.

1. Letter from Mr. P. N. Rajabhoj.

2. Letter from the Secretary of the Fellowship.
3. Reconciliation, London.

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
 Major, I.M.S.,
 Superintendent,
 Yeravda Central Prison.

KF BANGALORE U 16 30

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Central Prison Poona.

Honouring mother let not dumb millions drown midocean lead ashore fatherless children mourning tears prostrating desist fast.

BHIMRAO
 SECRETARY BANGALORE CANTONMENT CONGRESS

11.40.

O HK BURDWAN 16 24.

Mahatmaji Care Jailor Poona Yeravda.

Your life is your Nations Sacred and Priceless property and Nation prays you to preserve it.

BURDWAN PUBLIC
 10 30

O VA BOMBAY 16 41.

Mahatma Gandhi Poona Yeravda

Your Parsi friends admirers followers greatly perturbed by your decision they submit most differentially that as you gave British Government six months notice do give your own people six weeks time for settlement.

B. F. BHARUCHA

DF PB 1429 16 IRC 61

Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Your letter premier eighteenth apparently anticipated publication end August latest giving public three weeks notice enabling it exercise opinion avoiding necessity your fast stop delay publication till thirteenth deprived public this immeasurably valuable time stop implore you reconsider decision take fast

twentieth postpone at least fortnight restoring public fullest opportunities you intend expressing opinion love.

HENRY

DF HK 1511 Boston 16 VIA ETEN 2
Mahatma Gandhi, Poona.

Love Govind Radha.

22/2

O TB 16 GORAKHPUR 195.

Mahatma Gandhi, Jail Yeravda.

On behalf of the depressed classes we respectfully request you to refrain from entering into any penance by the way of the proposed fast which you have proclaimed to observing from 20th September 1932. On account of our getting separate representation in the Councils our leaders who have carefully considered the question welcomed the award of the Government and we also realise that by separate representations we will be able to progress more quickly than under the tutelage of the higher caste who neglected us religiously socially and in every respect for centuries without religious and social equality our emancipation is impossible by the higher caste it should come first political unity afterwards Hindu Community nor yourself made any sacrifice so long why should you starve to death when we hope to rise and serve the country side by side no communal question political agitation for our sake is fatal for our cause Civil Disobedience which you advocate in your proclamation is ruining the country increasing poverty and creating racial differences causing rupture in society and making life miserable.

HARDWAR PRASAD GUPTA BALLAB
Vakil Presidency, Shyamlal.

278 London.

Mahatma Gandhi, Yeravda Prison, Poona.

Our dearest love remembering you daily in prayers.

MADELIENE ROLLAND ELWIN HORACE AGATHA
CHARLIE.

193 London

LDT Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona.

Wish to assure you that we will do our utmost to overcome communal award Fenner Brockway Mrs Brockway Maxton MP Buchanan MP Girdharilal Puri Guruditsing Dara Secretary Gandhi Society and Indian Congress League 19 Bertrand Street, London WC.

" 248 London.

DLT Gandhi H. M., Prison Yeravda, Poona.

The world is in need of understanding if you intend to sacrifice your life by fasting why do so in prison come to England if liberated and allow people of Britain to see you fast in your friend the Reverend Harold Davisons Barrel at Black Pool then they will be able to judge your cause rightly or wrongly.

LUKE GANNON, Blackpool.

No. 1519 of 1932

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE

Secretariat, Bombay, 16th September 1932

From

Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esquire, J. P.,
Oriental Translator to Government;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 7870 of 1932, dated the 30th August 1932 and to return the letters sent therewith with translation of the Hindi letter which contains an enclosure for Mr. Desai. The other letter is written in a language not understood in this office, probably Tamil, and is returned untranslated.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) A. K. M. HUSSAIN,
Oriental Translator to Government.

No. 8607 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 16th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments retaining the accompaniment.

(Sd.),

Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8622 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 16th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to him.

1. Telegram from Burdwan Public.
2. Telegram from Cantonment Congress Bangalore.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 830 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Dated 17th September 1932

Returned with compliments the telegrams may be delivered to State prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

No. 8651 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 17th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith following seven telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether they may be delivered to him :

- (1) From, Mr. B. F. Bharucha, Bombay.
- (2) From, Mr. Henry, London.
- (3) From, Mr. Govind Radha, Boston,
- (4) From, Mr. Hardwarprasad, Gorakhpur.
- (5) From, Mr. Gurditsing Dara, London.
- (6) From, Mrs. Madeliene Rolland, London.
- (7) From Mr. Luke Gannon Blackpool, London.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
(Sd.)
19th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 831 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
17th September 1932

Returned with compliments these telegrams may be delivered.

I take it you are keeping copies of all telegrams delivered to Mr. Gandhi as requested by me.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON
Dated 17th September 1932.

Dear Major Bhandari,

My wire to Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla which appears in the Bombay papers of today omits two key-words viz. " from here " after the words " helpful instructions ". I see also that the omission has given rise to a misinterpretation

of my meaning. Could you therefore please send a message to the Associated Press asking them to circulate the necessary correction ?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

No. 7-2
Dated 17th September 1932

From The Deputy Superintendent in charge,
Government Telephone Office, Poona ;
To Major Bhandari, I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Sir,
With reference to your complaint of date regarding omission of words in telegram No. 38 dated the 16th inst. addressed to Ganashyamdas Birla etc. Calcutta from Mr. Gandhi, I have the honour to inform you that on comparing the original telegram with the copies at Bombay and Calcutta, it is observed that no omission occurred in transit.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) A. J. SALDANHA,
for Deputy Superintendent.

CONFIDENTIAL

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 17th September 1932

From The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
To The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,
I have the honour to send herewith fifteen telegrams as follows, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to him.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Calcutta | Head-master metropolitan Institution. |
| 2. Calcutta | Satish. |
| 3. Banglore | Secretary, Shelong Congress. |
| 4. Banglore | Ruth Robinson. |
| 5. Khandwa | Depressed Classes. |

6. Calcutta	Phookun.
7. Ahmedabad	Saraladevi and Ambala.
8. Rangoon	Chhaganlal.
9. Calcutta Boarders	Vidyasagar Hostel.
10. Calcutta	Krishnadas.
11. Secundarabad	Sadhak Giddhantananda President.
12. Calicut Editor	Matribhumi.
13. Barisal	Bar Association.
14. Ballia	Dahariram.
15. Madras	Kasi Krishnacharya, President, All-India Vaidik Mahasabbha, Gantoor.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Returned with compliments

The fifteen telegrams may be delivered to State prisoner Gandhi.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8672 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 17th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a cable to Mr. Henry Pollack, London, from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for favour of orders.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

R. W. C.

The cable may be sent if desired.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE

Dated 17th September 1932

Kaloph Estrand London

Beyond power postpone if God wills he can undo mans mischief and prolong life despite starvation love Bhai.

Dated 17th September 1932.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Calcutta

Mahatma Gandhiji Jail Poona

Bapuji your determination of self immolation to tally upsets already perturbed with alarming state of health of Subhas Bose Senguptas please reconsider save National Catastrophy.

BOARDERS VIDYSAGAR HOSTEL

Rangoon

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Prison do you advise necessary any of us come see you.

CHHAGANLAL

X LB Ahmedabad 17 55

Reply paid 32 Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Prison Poona. We distressed at your approaching fast and pray that everything may soon turn out well if you decide stay Ahmedabad since Vidyapith unavailable and you resolved not stay Ashrama need we inform that you will be most welcome our home here.

SARALADEVI AMBALAL

Calcutta OH PS 17 43 Mahatma Gandhiji, Yeravda Jail

Assam appealing most earnestly to cast Hindus to remove disabilities of depressed classes and urging them to insist firmly upon joint electorate in the interest of Hindu religion and their own pray reconsider terrible decision.

PHOOKUN

Khandva 17 24

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona

Khandva depressed classes meeting resolved against separate electorates praying long life Hindus resolved take all for their uplift.

10 50.

Ballia

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Members of the socalled untouchables and the depressed classes of Ballia under Presidency of Dahariram M. L. C. express their desire to continue with other Hindus in all their political relations and condemn separate electorates system provided by British Cabinet even though it be for shortest times and for a limited numbers of seats Dahariram.

Barisal

Mahatma Gandhiji care Yeravda Jail Superintendent Barisal Bar Association views with grave alarm your resolve to fast unto death most earnestly prays for preserving your life which is so sacred trust and priceless asset to the people of this unfortunate country we have no doubt that all classes will exert their utmost against the disruption of the Hindu community.

Calicut

Gandhiji Prison Yeravda Kallapan leader temple entry satyagraha Buruvayoor and others fasting from twentieth till temples open depressed classes or death stop grave anxiety since felt temple authority still unyielding stop pray advise by wire Kullpun editor Matrubhuvan.

Secundarabad

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona

On behalf of members non-political National Workers Association implore you on bended knees and folded hands to desist from terrible fast.

SADHAKA SIDDHANTANANDA, President.

Calcutta

Mahatma Gandhiji, Poona Yeravda

May I come kindly wire care Moti Calcutta.

KRISHNADAS

Banglore

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Central Prison Poona.

Bapuji consider mother land dumb crores drowning lead children shedding tear prostrating desist fast life mission incomplete.

KRISHNASWAMI

Secretary, Shelong Congress

Banglore

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona

You have my prayers sympathy and prayers to redeem poor of India.

RUTH ROBINSON.

Calcutta AST 17 33
Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona

Received Hemaprabha continually writing you Aran very well Kshilish reduced weight high fever irregular heart beats and weakness Hemaprabha quite fit Indranarayan released starting Bombay today.

SATISH
10 35

Calcutta
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Teachers Student Metropolitan Institution main Calcutta shocked your decision stop respectfully pray your long life crave blessings for devotion your cause.

HEAD MASTER

Madras.

Reply paid Mahatma Gandhi, care Superintendent Yeravda Jail Poona.

Humbly pray behalf Sanatanist India suspend fast pending conference. Kasi Krishnacharya President All-India Sanatanist Vaidik Mahasabha Gantoor.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8699 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 17th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith fifteen telegrams as follows, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same may be delivered to him.

1. Calcutta	Head-master Metropolitan Institution.
2. Calcutta	Satish.
3. Bangalore	Secretary, Shelong Congress.
4. Bangalore	Ruth Robinson.
5. Khandva	Depressed Classes.
6. Calcutta	Phookun.
7. Ahmedabad	Saraladevi and Ambalal.
8. Rangoon	Chhaganlal.

9. Calcutta	Boarders Vidyasagar Hostel.
10. Calcutta	Krishnadas.
11. Secundarabad	Sadhak Siddhantananda President.
12. Calicut	Editor Matrubhumi.
13. Barisal	Bar Association.
14. Ballia	Dahariram.
15. Madras	Kasi Krishnacharya. President All-India Sanatanist Vaidik Mahasabha. Gantoor.

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
 Major, I.M.S.,
 Superintendent,
 Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8700 of 1932
 YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
 18th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
 Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
 Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith telegrams as follows, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same may be delivered to him.

1. Lahore	Begum Alam.
2. Luzern	Efy Aristarchi
3. Bataviacentrum	Indian Association.
4. Cleveland	Sam Higginbottom.
5. Cuddalore	Shrinivas Iyengar.
6. Kuresong	Rajamahandra Ranjan Roy of Kakina, Kuresong.

7. Calcutta
8. Hyderabad (Sind).

The Secretary, Raj-balishukla.
Lalchand Adwani, Editor, Sindh Hindu.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

O SH LAHORE 17 48
Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Poona

Praying complete unity may result from your noblest determination and your most valuable life may be saved for the poor and India whom you have presented it already and may have to sacrifice one day or another same from husband.

19.58

BEGUM ALAM

XF SH 41 Luzern 17 VIA IRC 15
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail, Poona

My prayers surround you May God Guide You.

7.27

E. ARISTARCHI

DE WB 670 Bataviacentrum 17 MS 23
LCD Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Earnestly request untake such extreme course decision hunger strike causing country suffer depriving invaluable life.

21

INDIAN ASSOCIATION

DLT. NIL 127 Cleveland OHIO 16 Via IRC. 29
M. K. Gandhi, Yeravda Jail Poona

Some American friends surprised decision hunger strike till death feel hurts Indian cause think room for further negotiations hope and reconsider.

7/40

SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

Cuddalore 17/17/45

Mahatma Gandhiji Prisoner Poona

Cuddalore citizens implore you abstain from fast giving time for solution.

SRINIVAS IYANGAR

O TK. KURESONG 17 452

Mahatma M. K. Gandhiji

C/o Superintendent Yeravda Jail Bombay-Poona

Adored and beloved idol of the nation your dread resolve for self immolation in Hindus and depressed interests struck dumb and paralysed with fear entire land and inflicts insupportable pain and grief can you embodiment of truth tenderness ahimsa and (50) universal love as you are put whole Indian people and large numbers in every clime to this grievous pain suffering unmoved because a section however large threatened with temporary injury misapprehended or real will you beloved Bapu sacrifice with you all the precious hopes interests and sustaining aspirations you have awakened of whole nation having as you truly say child like faith in you in protest of an imposed provisional award concerning a part and of what consequence could such awards be when India comes as she must into her own it is dear Bapu your own conditional bow of self immolation if carried out will surely mortally harm humiliate and hurt India's real interest and arrest her onward march and not this provisional award of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald he has probably produced his best in existing circumstances but it is our Fault that we trifled with opportunities and left the solution in hands naturally least capable of joining with ours in the outlook on things of vital socio religious concern to us nevertheless harm if any is temporary sectional and dear Bapu we cannot conceive you sacrificing and orphaning the whole in a defence a part no greater and noble soul than yours has come to earth since Buddha and Jesus and as we see your life ideals and precepts to be same as theirs we cannot conceive your self destruction on present issue and thus inflicting mortal injury to India and perhaps hurting entire mankind even in vindication of a serious utterance you made nine months ago possibly without duly weighing all relevant circumstances tendencies tacit call dispositions and implications true call from within can't be disobeyed but conscience must necessarily be based on facts believing this am venturing put me views before you as hundreds are in sure conviction that if you see facts differently you will not hesitate moment to abandon you tragic and poignant resolve on suspending it till an unfettered opportunity for settlement of question comes Hindus not your only people your life Bapu is the life of Indian and you cannot renounce it for a part however large if you live idol of the nation alls saved and alls won and if you mount the burning pyre alls lost alls over and you transform your dear land to a deadly still Golgotha God Bless and keep you.

RAJAMAHANDRA RANJAN ROY

of Kakina Kuresong

0 VK Calcutta 17 45

Mahatma Gandhi Poona Yeravda

Members Aryun Vyamshal Barrabazar Calcutta

Offer their prayers to God Almighty for success of your great effort involving ever sacrifice of your most precious life for saving Hindu Society members determined Hinduism must be purged of untouchability.

22/17

The Secretary Rajbalishukla.

0 VL Hyderabad Sind 17 29

Reply paid regarding Gandhiji care Superintendent, Yeravda Jail Poona. Firmly believing success solicit favour message eve your immortal fast in cause humanity.

LALCHAND ADWANI,
Editor ' Sindh Hindu '.

23/48

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 5977
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, 18th September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 832 dated the 17th September 1932, I am directed to return herewith the two letters addressed to Mr. Gandhi by the persons named in the margin and to state that they may be delivered.

1. The General Secretary of
the Fellowship of Reconciliation,
London.

2. The President and
Members of All-India Depressed
Classes Association, Bombay
Presidency, Poona Branch.

2. As regards the vernacular news paper
Dalitabandhu I am to state that it has been forwarded for
review to the Oriental Translator to the Government and
that a further communication will be made to you in due
course regarding its disposal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)

for Officiating Secretary to the Government
of Bombay, Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8701 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 18th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith one wire written by State prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla, and to enquire whether it may be allowed to go.

The original telegram from which two words are supposed to have been missed is enclosed herewith for reference. Omitted words are underlined.

Enquiries made at telegraph office show that the message was delivered in tact. Mr. Gandhi thinks that probably omission has been made by Mr. Birla through oversight.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central. Prison.

Returned with compliments.

The enclosed Telegram may be dispatched as requested.

(Sd.),

18th September 1932

EXPRESS

Ghanshyamdas Birla,
Birla Park, Ballygunj, Calcutta.

Received no cause being upset every cause for rejoicing that God given opportunity has come to me for offering final sacrifice for most downtrodden am quite certain fast must not be postponed utterly incapable send helpful instructions from here or foresee future action.

GANDHI

M. K. Gandhi, prisoner, Yeravda Central Prison.

Ghanshyamdas Birla,
Birla House, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

From my wire to you of fifteenth reproduced Bombay press two important words quote from here unquote Were omitted after, quote helpful instructions unquote please rectify mistake.

M. K. GANDHI

Dated 18th September 1932.

Original

EXPRESS

Ghanshyamdas Birla,
Birla Park, Ballygunj, Calcutta.

Received no cause being upset every cause for rejoicing that God given opportunity has come to me for offering final sacrifice for most down trodden am quite certain fast must not be postponed utterly incapable send helpful instructions *from here* or foresee future action.

M. K. GANDHI, ,
Prisoner Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8700 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 18th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith telegrams as follows, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same may be delivered to him :

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Lahore | Begum Alam. |
| 2. Luzern | Efy Aristarchi. |
| 3. Bataviacentrum | Indian Association. |
| 4. Cleveland | Sam Higginbottom. |
| 5. Cuddalore | Shrinivas Iyengar. |

6. Kuresong	Rajamahandra Ranjan Roy of Kakin-Kuresong.
7. Calcutta	The Secretary, Rajbalishukla.
8. Hyderabad (Sind).	Lalchand Adwani, Editor, Sindh Hindu.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Returned with compliments,
The above telegrams may be delivered.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8703 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 19th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith telegrams as follows, received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether the same should be delivered to him :

1. Bombay	Mehd care bhadraji Dharu Maharai Mansions, Sandhurst Road.
2. Bombay	Ghanshyam C/o Lucky.
3. London	Charlie Andrews.
4. Asafpur	Not given.
5. Bombay	Walchand Hirachand.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

X ND BOMBAY 18 31

RP. Rupee one annas ten.

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona.

Offer my residence Ahmedabad while on vow pray accept and oblige reply.

MEHD CARE BHADRAJI DHARU

Maharaj Mansions, Sandhurst Road.

13 20

X IF BOMBAY 18 59

Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona.

Reached hope you have seen Moonjis interview believe caste Hindoos will be prepared to give cent percent seats to Ambedkar on joint electorate but please wire how your mind running I propose that depressed class's leaders should be given paper and pen write out any decision on joint electorate advise.

GHANSHYAM C/o LUCKY

9/34

LT NIL 992 LONDON PO ETN 119

WLT Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona

Agree remaining here much better stop after careful enquiry into electoral details following information transpires stop Franchise basis of Lothian Report and geographical electoral areas are still partly undetermined yet these important details may modify Prime Ministers Award stop depressed classes might obtain sufficient safe general constituencies Northern India making special electorates practically unnecessary stop but in Southern and Western India very few depressed candidates likely obtain seats in general election however low Franchise and however carefully geographical areas are defined stop therefore some method reservation or Proportional representation might still be needed if separate electorates entirely stop have forwarded these details in case anything might useful in negotiating.

CHARLIE ANDREWS

11/20

O R ASAFPUR E I 17 85

Gandhiji Jail Poona Yeravda

Gurujee you died for and of Government and not for and of in your abides your soul and life of country but not your killing your soul impossible you kill life of country with your vow pitaji kill your vow ever or till Vijyadashmi of success permit us from twenty to beg for your coffin with 26 crores at least to cover your only wish more grieved desiring first darshan on 17 October.

11/12

X NK BOMBAY 18 36

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Deputation Bombay citizens emergency committee given to interview you in jail they started at one and expect reach there at about six and interview you immediately.

WALCHAND HIRACHAND

14 20

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8706 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 19th September 1932

Returned with compliments retaining the accompaniments.

Copies of all telegrams delivered to State prisoner M. K. Gandhi are kept by this office.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8705 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 19th September 1932

Returned with compliments retaining the accompaniment.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Bangalore 19 16 15

Mahatma Gandhiji Poona Yeravda Prison.

Malleswaram Ladies Association humbly prays Mahatma desist fasting.

JAYAMMA (President).

Taipingperak

Mahatma Gandhiji Jail Yeravda Poona.

We Indians of Taiping most respectfully beg of you the greatest man of India not to fast as your fasting may involve the possibility of sacrificing your life whom in motherland requires your most vigorous services in the honour of her need at this critical stage of her history.

INDIANS

Silchar 19 16 15

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona Y

Bapuji your determination of self immolation totally perturbs us pray consider your decision and save country.

CACHAR SIKSHASAYA
TAN SILCHAR

Chopda 19 14 50

Mahatmajji Yeravda Prison Yeravda

The very love which has melted you and driven you to starve yourself demands of you instead to stand up and work for it Buddhas example dictates this course even the immortality of the soul may not rejoice over this love tragedy.

MADANLAL

16-14

Bangalore 19 15 50

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda

Representative depressed classes Mysore State Conference held Sunday 18th September resolved Mahatma Gandhi our greatest leader has done more than any other uplift our community we support abolition separate electorates humbly demand revise award according Mahatma Gandhis desire pray revise immediate save life Mahatma Gandhi otherwise calamity indescribable feeling country widespread intense premier cabled according above.

S. M. NARAINSWAMY
Pillai President Conference.

16-36

Ahmedabad 19 16 45

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Central Prison Poona

Pray God help you request staying with us if coming here.

MOTI RANCHODLAL

19-29

Baroda 19 16 20

Dear Mahatmajji your grievance is both against Government and Hindus but as untouchability existed before advent of British it should be more against Hindus Justice to Hindus therefore requires that withdrawal of your vow should also depend on Hindus withdrawing their sinful conduct completely if you accept this view you should postpone your fast day and give reasonable notice also to Hindus just as one given to Government in march looking to variety of Hindus and consequent delay and difficulties they are entitled to more

time the chief condition of postponement I may suggest should be that higher caste Hindus should go to reside in Antyajas localities and *vice versa* in addition to opening of all temples wells etc. As tangible proof of practical change.

17-42

VAKIL BALWANTRAI R. DESAI
Palace Road, Baroda

Nawaba 19 16 10

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Yeravda

Temples opened untouchables meeting rejected separate electorates expressed full confidence Gandhiji.

17-38

NAURANGISINGH

Rangoon 19 16 15

Mahatmaji Subjail Poona Y

Stunned at the news of your fast unto death commencing twentieth offering prayers to God from today to crown your efforts with success may you live long.

TAMILNADU YOUTH
GANDHI KHDARNILAYAM

Ajmer 19 14 20

Gandhiji Jail Poona Y

Saturdays mass meeting Ajmer Hindus strongly protested against communal decision and offered depressed classes even over representation through joint electorates.

BARRISTER GAURISHANKAR VERMA
President

15-55

Ajmer 19 14 20

Gandhiji Jail Poona Y

Yesterdays monster meeting Ajmer depressed classes disapproved communal award reaffirmed faith in Mahatmaji and joint electorate and demanded his unconditional release.

15-53

MEGHALAL
President

Pabna 19 12 15

Mahatmaji Yeravda Jail Poona

Pabna Hindus mass meeting of all classes unanimously decide joint electorate and convey fullest confidence in you all perturbed over your fasting decision implore suspension if not withdrawing your fast May God grant you long life.

15-39

SRISH VIDYARATNA
President

Sirsi (KNA) 19 14 55

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail, Poona

Famous Markamba temple Sirsi thrown open untouchables.

16-18

TRUSTEES

Calcutta 19 12 55

Mahatmaji rends heart your solemn decision pray postpone a few days you declare anything under sun think who live after you.

14-29

MIDNAPORE STUDENTS

Kalyan City 19 12

Mahatma Gandhi Poona Y

Kalyan Andhras full confidence in you beseech postponing fast pending leaders settlement.

14-22

KALYAN ANDHRAS

Muzaffarpur 19 11 25

Mahatma Gandhi Jail Poona Y

Depressed class crowded meeting Muzaffarpur express unflinching faith in your support joint electorate caste Hindoos offering joint prayer famous Chatturbhuptan temple.

14-7

MEMESWARAM
President

Kishanganj 19 1 35

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

All classes Hindus worshipped in temples resolved unanimously joint electorate postpone fasting request.

14-4

DEPRESSED CLASS
Kishanganj

Bazwada 19 11 30

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Jail Poona Y

Andharadesa special provincial depressed classes conference unanimously resolves Joint Electorates with restoration on—population basis condemns leadership of Ambedkar and Rajah places complete confidence in Mahatmaji prays his unconditional release requests Mahatmaji gives up fast proposes compromise conference between caste Hindus and depressed classes on linguistic basis.

14-2

KURMAYA

Rangoon 19 12 25

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona Y

All Burma Andhra youth league repudiates caste future of country with youth all pray abandon fasting we assure support.

14-17

SECRETARY

Santiniketan 19 12 35

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona Y

It is worth sacrificing precious life for the sake of Indians unity and her social integrity stop though we can not anticipate what effect it may have upon our rulers who may not understand its immense importance for our people we feel certain that the supreme appeal of such self offering to the conscience of our own country men will not be in vain stop I fervently hope that we will not call consciously allow such national tragedy to reach its extreme length stop our sorrowing tears will follow your sublime penance with reverence and love.

RAVINDRANATH TAGORE

15/

Calcutta 19 14 15

Mahatma Gandhiji Yeravda Poona Y

Pray immediate fulfilment of your mission of uplifting down trodden humanity.

15-14

RIPON COLLEGE STUDENTS
Calcutta

Belgaum.

M. K. Gandhi Central Prison Yeravda Prison Poona

Feel inclined seeking my release under parole system for meeting you.

MATHURADAS

Sialkot

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail

A friend your disciple and well-wisher of depressed is bent starving unto death in sympathy with the cause from twentieth September pray full seek your sanction Harbakshsing care rose.

Baroda

M. K. Gandhi Yeravda Central Prison.

Dear Mahatmaji your grievance is both against Government and Hindus but as untouch ability existed before advent of British it should be more against Hindus justice to Hindus therefore requires that withdrawal of your vow should also depend on Hindus withdrawing their sinful conduct completely if you accept this view should postpone your fast day and given reasonable notice also to Hindus just as given to Government in March in looking to variety of Hindus and consequent delay and difficulties they are entitled to more time the chief condition of postponement I may suggest that should be that higher caste Hindus should go to reside in Antyajas locality and *vice versa* in addition to opening all temples, wells etc. As tangible proof of practical change.

VAKIL BALWANTRAI R. DESAI
Palace Road, Baroda

Nawaba

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail

Temples opened untouchables meeting rejected separate electorates expressed full confidence Gandhi.

NAURANGISINGH

Rangoon
Mahatmaji Sub Jail Poona

Stunned at the news of fast unto death commencing twentieth offering prayers to God from today to crown your efforts with success may you live long.

TAMILNADU YOUTH
GANDHI KHDARNILAYAM

O LK Simla *19 20
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda

Arties Association Simla appeal save India general Hindus particular postpone fasting date till Bombay Conference decision.

19-6

O RF FARIDPUR BNL. 19 86
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

A large meeting of Hindus of all communities of Faridpur on 17th September expressed deep moving concern at the resolve of Mahatma Gandhi to fast himself unto death a resolution disapproving the Ministers Communal Award as being harmful to the Hindus at large and a permanent upon this so called depressed classes was adopted by motion by Babu Baishnavchandra pleader and Babu Kisorimohan Sakar both members of Namsudra Community President public meeting.

440 Barking
Brother Gandhi Poona India

Desist terrible futility dying live on Gods wisdom Calvarys cross Jesus Christ light finds all who love God sure.

REDEEMED BRITISHER

O SA Ahmedabad 19 19
M. K. Gandhiji Yeravda

Ahmedabad ladies assembled resolved Prayaschitta pray God help country Saraladevi President Vidyabai.

18-47

O OB Jhelum 19 41
Mahatma Gandhi care Superintendent Jail Poona Yeravda

Timber merchants Jhelum assembled in public meeting pledged themselves to treat depressed classes as own here therein in future and respectfully pray for your long life to save India from present degradation.

SECRETARY

DF VC 764 SOERABAJA 19 MAW 22/19

LCO Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Humbly requesting decision hungerstrike causing terrible loss country depriving services invaluable.

SINDHI MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION

Bagalkot

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Prison Poona

Your resolve fast unto death has shocked grieved Karnatak Chamber of Commerce much chamber respectfully requests forego or postpone resolve exert efforts amicable settlement prays God success your resolve.

SECRETARY

CO TH Ahmedabad 19 23

Reply paid Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Cordially invite you my place since vowed not to return Ashram till Swaraj attained.

MEHMULJI ALLIJI

O QF Mainpuri 19 23

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Poona

Mainpuri Hindus removing untouchability disabilities depressed classes request your abandoning fast allow time entire removal.

MANSUKHLAL
Secretary, Hindusabha

Calcutta

Bapuji Central Jail Poona.

Tata Adarsa Durga puja performed by priests including depressed classes your blessing solicited Nibaram Chaudhari.

PRESIDENT
31/1, Khelut Babu Lab Cossipore, Cal.

Rangoon

Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Poona

Atimandra Association Rangoon branch prays not to fast lest we depressed classes become orphans we are for joint electorates.

RUPAK VENKAT REDDY

744 SIENA
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona India
Love faith hope.

SORELLA MARIA AMULA
Allodore Eldevote.

*Karachi
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Poona
Learn starting fast Nai Brahman Sabha Karachi prays success.

NANULAL
Secretary

Calcutta
Mahatma Gandhi Yeravda Jail Poona

Members Kalighat Students Club Calcutta offered their prayers Kali Goddess for success your great efforts for saving Hindu Society and your long life members determined Hinduism must be purged untouchability.

MEMBERS

Calcutta
Mahatmaji Yeravda Jail Poona

India is already bleeding to death Oh revered Father the execution of your firm resolution will shatter her nerves and make her sons orphans foreseeing the incalculable loss we pray to God for your long life and solution of this unique problem.

ARYA MISSION INSTITUTION STUDENTS
Calcutta.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8737 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 19th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith ten telegrams received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to enquire whether they may be delivered to him.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Calcutta | Midnapur Students. |
| 2. Kalyan City | Kalyan Andhras. |

3. Muzaffarpur	Memeswaram, President.
4. Kishanganj	Depressed Classes.
5. Bezawada	Kurmayya, Secretary.
6. Rangoon	Vyrna Andhra Youth League.
7. Shantiniketan	Rabindranath Tagore.
8. Calcutta	Ripon College Students.
9. Belgaum	Mathuradas.
10. Sialkot	Harbaksha Singh.

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
 Major, I.M.S.,
 Superintendent,
 Yeravda Central Prison.

Returned with compliments.

As already directed, you should use your discretion and dispose of these accordingly. There are now no restrictions on either inward or outward communications. I trust these instructions are clear.

Dated 19th September 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
 Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. 8707
 YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
 Dated 19th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments retaining the accompaniment.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
 Major, I.M.S.,
 Superintendent,
 Yeravda Central Prison.

H. K. HALES
 Office and Showrooms
 52, Calstaun Buildings, Russell Street,
 Calcutta, 6th September 1932

Mr. M. K. Gandhi,
 Yeravda Gaol, Poona.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

On my return to India I am taking the earliest opportunity to write to you with the object of inducing you to give the country the lead it so much requires

at the present crisis in order to bring about peace and concord throughout India which we all desire.

As was only to be expected the government award fails to satisfy any particular community, and I believe you will agree with me that the time has come—the hour has struck, when India shall of her own free will settle once and for all her communal differences, and testify to the whole world her capacity for self government. But a lead is wanted, some patriot who at perhaps considerable sacrifice will institute a calling together of the various leaders to achieve this result.

I have interviewed Mr. M. R. Jayaker, Pandit Malaviya and other leaders with the object of calling together a Round Table Conference at Delhi, composed entirely of Indians, who perhaps taking the award as a foundation, shall alter, readjust, and amplify the award to suit as far as possible the various communities. I feel confident that if you would give an assurance of your desire to do this, the way would be found for you to undertake this great task, which if successful would bring about to this troubled land an era of prosperity and happiness exceeding all our anticipations. I regret you were away when I called to see you at Kingsley Hall, but I left with your Secretary a copy of my book, which I hope reached you in due course.

I am sending by this post a copy of the Madras Hindu, containing an article by me entitled "The Future of India " which I know will interest you, as I have endeavoured without bias to set out the position in India as it is today, and pointing out how little real differences of opinion there are when we get down to hard facts.

With kind regards, hoping you are well.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) H. K. HALES

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8708 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 19th September 1932

From
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith one letter received for State prisoner M. K. Gandhi and to enquire whether it may be delivered to him.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 841 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 19th September 1932

R. W. C. The letter may be delivered.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 840 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 19th September 1932

R. W. C. This may be dispatched as desired.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.
Inspector-General of Prisons.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8709 of 1932
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Yeravda, 19th September 1932

From
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a post-card written by State prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Mr. Krishnadas, Calcutta and to enquire whether the same may be allowed to go on.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 842 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Dated 19th September, 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments for disposal.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.D. 5985

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)

Poona, 19th September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 836 dated the 18th inst. I am directed to return herewith the letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by K. F. Nariman, Bijapur District Prison and to state that it may be delivered.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.),

for Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 844 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Poona, 19th September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal as directed by Government with reference to his confidential No. 8621 dated 16th September 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. 8745 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 20th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments, retaining the accompaniments.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 8746 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 20th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments retaining the accompaniments.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 8647 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 20th September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments retaining the accompaniments.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 3448 of 1932
Visapur, 20th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Visapur Temporary Prison ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona,
Temporary Prison Office.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter written by prisoner Fulchand Bapuji (with English translation) addressed to M. K. Gandhi for favour of orders.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) P. L. O.'QUINN,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 851 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
21st September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. 8886 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 23rd September 1932

Returned with compliments retaining the accompaniments.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Health Report of Mahatma Gandhi

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, STATE OF BOMBAY, POONA.

Subject :— M. K. Gandhi.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8840 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 21st September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To,
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,
I have the honour to enclose herewith report on State prisoner M. K. Gandhi's health.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi

15th September 1932

We have medically examined him and the report of the examination is as follows :—

General condition	Good.
<i>Chest:</i>	
Respiratory system	Both lungs normal. No foreign sounds are heard and air entry is perfect.
Circulatory system	Heart sounds and Rhythm
Pulse	68 per minute and regular.
Liver and spleen	Not palpable.
Bowels	Regular.
<i>General nervous system</i>	Normal.
<i>Urine examination :</i>	
Colour	Straw coloured and clear.
Spec gravity	1010.
Reaction	Acid.
Sugar	Nil.
Albumen	Nil.
Phospates	Present slight.
Microscopic deposits	Crystals of triple phosphates and few disquammated epithelial cells present.

Muscular system Normal but the external epicondyle of the left humerus from where the extensors of the forearm arise is slightly swollen and painful on supination and on use of the forearm in a supinated state. The condition is allied to 'Tennis-Elbow' is likely to recover by continuous and prolonged rest. Treatment in the shape of fermentations counter irritants massage, rest and diathermy has been given a prolonged trial.

20th September 1932

11 a.m. Weight: 101 lbs.
He has lost 1½ lbs. from his previous weight probably due to overwork and insufficient sleep.

11-5 a.m. Took a glass of mixture of honey and water and juice of two sweet limes. States he feels quite fit. Pulse 68 per minute.

12 Noon Fast commences.

8 a.m. Cheerful.
On enquiry states that he is not feeling fatigued. He has spent about 6 hours in holding conversations with visitors today.

21st September 1932.

7-30 a.m. He states he feels quite fit. Pulse 63 p.m.
Has slept well upto 2 a.m.

11 a.m. Has been taking water and soda off and on.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8858 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 22nd September 1932

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith medical report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for 24 hours from 8 a.m. 21st September to 8 a.m. 22nd September 1932.

8 a.m. 21st September 1932	He states he feels quite fit. Pulse 62 p.m. Has slept well upto 2 a.m.
11 a.m.	Has been taking water and soda off and on.
5 p.m..	Pulse 62 p.m.
7-45 a.m. 22nd September 1932	Says he slept from 8 p.m. to 2-30 a.m. very soundly. Woke up and did some writing till 5 a.m. Slept again from 5 to 6 a.m.
	Tongue is moist and clean. Says he feels no discomfort.
	Face looks a bit pinched has slight congestion of both eyes.
	Pulse 64 p.m.
	Urine Examination : Nothing abnormal detected. Weight will be taken tomorrow.

Copy to Government.

H. D.

(Sd.)22nd September 1932.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 856 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE

Poona, 22nd September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

OC

(Sd.),

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

21st September 1932

Six hours in holding
conversations with visitors
today.

7-30 a.m.

He states he feels quite fit. Pulse
65 p.m. Has slept well upto 2
a.m.

11 a.m.

Has been taking water and soda
off and on.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8844 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 21st/22nd September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter written by State prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to you. Eight letters for prisoners in different jails are enclosed herewith.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8858 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 22nd September 1932

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith medical report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for 24 hours from 8 a.m. 21st September 1932 to 8 a.m. 22nd September 1932.

8 a.m. 21st September 1932	He states he feels quite fit. Pulse 62 p.m. Has slept well upto 2 a.m.
11 am.	Has been taking water and soda off and on.
5 p.m.	Pulse 62 p.m.
7-45 a.m. 22nd September 1932	Says he slept from 8 p.m. to 2-30 a.m. very soundly. Waked up and did some writing till 5 a.m. Slept again from 5 to 6 a.m. Tongue is moist and clean. Says he feels no discomfort.

Face looks a, bit pinched and a slight congestion in both eyes.

Pulse 64 p.m.

Urine Examination : Nothing abnormal detected. Weight will be taken tomorrow.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8884 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 23rd September 1932

To
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith medical report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for 24 hours from 8 a.m. 22nd September 1932 to 8 a.m. 23rd September 1932.

He slept well from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. and states that he does not feel as fresh as he did yesterday morning.

Tongue moist and clean.

Pulse 72 per minute.

His weight today is 96 lbs. as compared with 101 lbs. on 20th September 1932 the day on which he commenced fast.

Urine examination : Nothing abnormal detected.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8884 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 23rd September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Regr. No. 1565

Dated 23rd September 1932.

To

Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith medical report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for 24 hours from 8 a.m. 22nd September 1932 to 8 a.m. 23rd September 1932.

He slept well from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. but states that he does not feel as fresh as he did yesterday morning.

Tongue moist and clean.

Pulse 72 per minute.

His weight today is 96 lbs. as compared with 101 lbs. on 20th September 1932 the day on which he commenced fast.

Urine examination : Nothing abnormal detected.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.

Send copy to Government,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

(Sd.),

Dated 23rd September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 858 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 23rd September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.
Copy forwarded with compliments for information.
O.C.

(Sd.)
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8894 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 23rd September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two letters, one from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Miss Slade a prisoner in Arthur Road Prison and another from 'B' Class prisoner Mahadeo Desai at the request of Mr. Gandhi, for favour of disposal.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8748 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated September 1932

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) M.G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. S.D. 6084
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)
Poona, 23rd September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. S.D. 5977 dated the 18th instant, I am directed to return herewith for delivery to Mr. Gandhi of the vernacular newspaper " Dalit Bandhu " dated the 28th August 1932.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.),
for Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 850 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Dated 24th September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of further disposal in continuation of this office Confidential No. 844 dated 19th September 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

File No. 20-IX
No. 1573 of 1932
ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE
Secretariat, Bombay, 24th September 1932

From
Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esquire, J.P.,
Oriental Translator to Government;

To
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,
I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 8112, dated the 5th September 1932 and to return the three Hindi letters sent therewith along with their translation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A.K.M. HUSSAIN,
Oriental Translator to Government.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. 8934 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 24th September 1932

To
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,
I have the honour to forward herewith medical report further on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for 24 hours.

The deputation left at 10 p.m. They were not allowed more than half an hour as in our opinion he was looking weak and exhausted. His voice was low and it appeared that he had to make an effort to talk.

He did not go to sleep till 12 midnight. He had a fairly good sleep. He is considerably pulled down.

He had an interview this morning at 11 a.m. with the depressed class leaders. After the interview his pulse went up to 90 p.m. from 70 p.m. The sensation of nausea is persistent during the day.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

We carefully examined today Mr. M. K. Gandhi and have come to the following unanimous and considered opinion.

2. His vitality is decidedly lower than it was yesterday and is the lowest since he commenced his fast.

3. Today is his day of silence, but we were able to ascertain that he suffered no particular discomfort. The feeling of nausea, which troubled him previously, and caused vomiting yesterday, appears to be less than before.

4. Blood pressure is :

Systolic	185
Diastolic	110

5. The disturbing features are that both the acetone and urea content in his urine have increased. The latter to 1.5 per cent.

6. We are definitely of opinion that this portends entry into the danger zone.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,

Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,

Major, I.M.S.,

Deputy Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) M. D. GILDER,

M.D.,

M.L.C., Bombay.

(Sd.) P. T. PATEL,

M.D.

Poona, 26th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2

No. 8934 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 24th September 1932

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward further medical report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi for the last 24 hours.

The deputation left at 10 p.m. They were not allowed more than half an hour as in our opinion he was looking weak and exhausted. His voice was low and it appeared that he had to make an effort to talk.

He did not go to sleep till 12 midnight. He had a fairly good sleep. He is considerably pulled down.

He had an interview this morning at 11 a.m. with the depressed class leaders. After the interview his pulse went upto 90 p.m. from 70 p.m.

The sensation of nausea is persistent during the day.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.

Copy sent to Government, Home Department.

(Sd.),

Dated 25th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 863 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 25th September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.
Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

(Sd.),
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 8966 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 26th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith five letters from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi to prisoners in different jails for favour of disposal.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHNDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 8968 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated, 27th September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.
Regr. No. 1588
Dated 27th September 1932.

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a report on the health of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi. I may add that Dr. Gilder also saw him this morning.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 8967 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 27th September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.
Regr. No. 1588
Dated 27th September 1932.

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

We have examined Mr. M. K. Gandhi today and find him progressing satisfactorily.
Blood pressure (1) Systolic 175, (2) Diastolic 100.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 870 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 27th September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Poona,
The Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay.
Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

O.C.

(Sd.),
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. 8967 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 27th September 1932

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K; Gandhi

We have examined Mr. M. K. Gandhi today and find him progressing satisfactorily.

B.P. is :

Systolic 175
Diastolic 100

(Sd.) M. D. GILDER,
M.D.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 8971 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 27th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith two letters, one from Mr. M. K. Gandhi and another from ' B' Class prisoner Mahadeo Desai written on request by Mr. Gandhi, for favour of disposal.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. 8995 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 28th September 1932

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

His progress continues to be satisfactory. He was weighed this morning and it was 94½ lbs.
His blood pressure is 155 Systolic and 95 Diastolic.

Urine examination shows 1.7 per cent Urea and diascetic acid and acetone present in fair amount—slightly more than on previous day.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDAM,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 8995 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 28th September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.
Regr. No. 1602
Dated 28th September 1932.

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

His progress continues to be satisfactory. He was weighed this morning and it was 94½ lbs.
His blood pressure is 155 Systolic and 95 Diastolic.

Urine examination shows 1.7 per cent Urea and diacetic acid and acetone present in fair amount—slightly more than on previous day.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Make two copies,
 One for P.S.G.
 One for Secretary, Home Department, Poona.
 (Sd.)
 Dated 28th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 876 of 1932
 INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
 Poona, 28th September 1932

To
 The Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Poona.
 The Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay.
 Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

O.C.
 (Sd.)
 Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
 Inspector-General of Prisons,
 Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
 No. 879 of 1932
 INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
 Poona, 28th September 1932

From
 Lt-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
 Inspector-General of Prisons,
 Bombay Presidency ;

To
 The Secretary to Government,
 Home Department (Political), Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith as verbally requested a medical resume of State prisoner Gandhi's fast. This has been compiled from notes of his case maintained by the Medical Officers of the Prison.

The last paragraph is my own opinion of the progress he is likely to make.

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
 Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
 Inspector-General of Prisons,
 Bombay Presidency.

File No. 2

To

The Secretary, Home Department, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward as verbally requested a medical resume of State prisoner Gandhi's fast. This has been compiled from notes of his case maintained by the Medical Officers of the prison.

The last paragraph is my own opinion of the progress he is likely to make.

(Sd.)

State prisoner Gandhi commenced his fast at 12 noon on the 20th September. Before the fast was started he was carefully examined and found to be in perfect health. His weight was 101 lbs. Pulse rate 68 per minute.

At the end of the first twenty-four hours there was practically no change in his condition.

2. The strain resulting from the numerous interviews was noticeable on the 22nd and Mr. Gandhi began to show signs of fatigue. He complained for the first time of a slight feeling of nausea.

3. On the 23rd his weight was reduced to 96 lbs. signs of fatigue and exhaustion were more marked, but his condition was quite satisfactory. There were no abnormal constituents in his urine.

4. Twenty-fourth.—Mr. Gandhi had a deputation late the previous night which did not leave till 10 p.m. The strain of this interview left him exhausted and the mental excitement caused him to sleep badly. This morning he looked pinched and drawn.

His condition was not improved by another deputation this morning which carried on till past 11 a.m.

His pulse rate had increased from 70 per minute to 90 per minute when the meeting terminated.

Blood pressure was :

Systolic	180
Diastolic	100

5. Twenty-fifth.—The weight today was $93\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Pulse 72 per minute. Blood pressure remaining the same as on the previous day. There was no marked change in his general condition but acetone appeared in small quantity in his urine.

As the day advanced his condition was not quite so satisfactory. At 5 p.m. he vomited once. At bedtime he became very exhausted and weak. He complained of a great deal of nausea. Pulse rate going up to 90 per minute.

He had a very disturbed night.

6. Twenty-sixth.—A Medical Board was held. After which the following report was issued (copy attached).

During the day it was noticed that his tongue distinctly furred—this had not been the case previously. As the day advanced his general condition was by no means satisfactory and gave rise to anxiety.

At 5-20 p.m. he broke his fast by taking 2½ ounces of sweet lime juice.

His condition did not show any marked signs of improvement before bed time.

7. Twenty-seventh.—Passed a very good night. General condition better than it was on the previous day. Tongue still furred. Blood pressure 175 systolic 100 diastolic. Urine acetone and urea both present in the urine.

During the day he continued to take nourishment as considered advisable— glucose being added to his feeds.

8. Twenty-eighth.—Weighed today 94½ lbs. in weight. Blood pressure 155 systolic 95 diastolic. Urea 1.7 per cent and acetone in fair quantity, still present in the urine. The general condition is satisfactory, but I consider it is much too early to dogmatically state that his constitution has or has not been affected by his fast though I am personally of opinion that, it has not, and that there is at present no reason to apprehend any complications or sequelae.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

We carefully examined today Mr. M. K. Gandhi and have come to the following unanimous and considered opinion.

2. His vitality is decidedly lower than it was yesterday and is the lowest since he commenced his fast.

3. Today is his day of silence, but we were able to ascertain that he suffered no particular discomfort. The feeling of nausea, which troubled him previously, and caused vomiting yesterday, appears to be less than before.

4. Blood pressure is :—

Systolic 185

Diastolic 110

5. The disturbing features are that both the acetone and urea content in his urine have increased. The later to 1.5 per cent.

6. We are definitely of opinion that this portends entry into the danger zone.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) M. D. GILDER,
M. D.,
M. L. C, Bombay.

(Sd.) P.T. PATEL,
M. D.

Poona, 26th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. 9022 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 29th September 1932

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

The progress still continues to be satisfactory. He sleeps well and his voice is almost restored to normal. Pulse is 82 per minute.

Urine examination shows no acetone or diacetic acid but urea content is 1.6 per cent.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 9016 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 29th September 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi addressed to you. A letter to prisoner Miss Slade is also attached herewith.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

File No. 20-IX
No. 9017 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 29th September 1932

Returned with compliments retaining the accompaniment.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

File No. 4
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
29th September 1932
(1.45 p.m.)

Dear Major Bhandari,

The orders you verbally conveyed to me at 12.30 this morning I interpret as follows. I am not to be allowed to see from this date any visitors regarding untouchability or any other public work, except Sjts. Ghanashyamdas Birla and Mathuradas Vissanji. Secondly Mrs. Gandhi should be forthwith removed to the Female Ward ; all other visits to be regulated as before the fast, under the general instructions that were conveyed to me soon after my admission and amended thereafter. This means that I shall not have the privilege of

seeing Shrimati Sarojinidevi, whose presence during my illnesses has produced a soothing effect on me, nor of my son Devdas and his intended wife, nor of the Ashram inmates who have been in attendance upon me during this crisis. I must confess that I was wholly unprepared for this very sudden and rude reminder that I was but a prisoner whose body was entirely at the mercy of the Government. I would like, however, the Government to know that I am still considered to be convalescent and under orders not even to move from my bed. I had hoped that at least during the convalescent period I would be saved all unnecessary shock to my nerves. However this need not be a matter of moment to the Government and ought not to worry me overmuch, if at all. Indeed I am thankful for the medical attendance that the Government provided for me and the free attendance of visitors and friends during the fast. But what I cannot understand is this sudden stopping of all visits, even in connection with untouchability work, save those of Sjts. Ghanashyamdas and Mathuradas. The Government cannot be unaware of the phenomenal awakening that has taken place in the country, nor of the repercussion of the fast whose limitations have been but little understood and which is being blindly imitated by enthusiastic young men. I therefore hold it absolutely necessary that I should be left entirely free to see whomsoever I consider necessary regarding untouchability. The Government have not yet seemed to have revised their instructions regarding correspondence. Needless to say what applies to visitors regarding untouchability applies equally to correspondence. Nor need I add that I should not have the slightest objection to Government officials and interpreters attending any interviews I might have with visitors and my correspondence being scrutinised. As this is a matter of the greatest urgency, I hope that the Government will favour me with their decision at the earliest possible moment.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 9022 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 29th September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.
Regr. No. 1613
Dated 29th September 1932.

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

The progress still continues to be satisfactory. He sleeps well and his voice is almost restored to normal. Pulse is 82 per minute.

Urine examination shows no acetone or diacetic acid but urea content is 1.6 per cent.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 888 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE Poona,
29th September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Poona.
The Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Ganeshkhind, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

O.C.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. SD. 6231 of 1932
H. D. (Political)
Poona, 29th September 1932

From

C. B. B. Clee, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In forwarding herewith a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Miss F. M. Barr of Karim Nagar, Hyderabad State, received through the Commissioner

of Police, Bombay I am directed to inform you that it may be delivered to the addressee.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)..... ,
for Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 886 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 29th September 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of further disposal.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON'S OFFICE
Dated, 30th September 1932

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

He is making satisfactory progress.
Pulse : 65 p.m. Full and regular.
He looks quite normal.
Yesterday's urine examination showed traces of albumen. This morning sample is free from it or any other abnormality.
His weight today is 100 lbs.
From yesterday he is allowed to sit up in a chair for some time daily.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer,
Yeravda Central Prison.

File No. 20-IX
No. 1622 of 1932
ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE
Secretariat, Bombay, 30th September 1932

From Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esqr., J. P.,
Oriental Translator to Government.

To The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to return the two Hindi letters, received with your letter No. 8468 of 1932 dated the 12th September 1932 together with their translation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)
Oriental Translator to Government.

File No. 20-IX
No. 9080 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 30th September 1932

Returned with compliments retaining the accompaniment.

(Sd.)
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

**Translation of a post card addressed to Mr. Gandhi by
Purnachand Vidyalkar of Hardwar**

Aum.

File No. 20-IX
Gandhi Sevashram
P. O. Gurukul Kangri
District Saharanpur

Respected Bapuji,

With respectful salutations.

The 7th September was observed as the Prisoners' Day at Hardwar. In this connection Shri Chandratyagi and two Brahmacharis (students) were arrested. Shri Chandratyagi gave out your name as that of his father. The

other two gave out the name of Pandit Dev Sharma as that of their father because of his being the President of the Ashram. All the three are being prosecuted under Section 104 of the Criminal Procedure Code. On being questioned Tyagiji said that you have always considered him as your son and that you subscribe yourself as 'father' in letters (addressed to him). He also considers himself as your son. You are his father in your capacity of a *guru*. Pandit Dev Sharma has not yet been sent to jail. He was searched at the house of Babu Rajendra Prasad on the 10th September. Please send your blessings.

Your son,
PURNACHAND VIDYALANKAR,
Gandhi Sevashram, Hardwar.

File No. 20-IX
No. 1621 of 1932
ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE
Secretariat, Bombay, 30th September 1932

From
Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esqr. J.P.,
Oriental Translator to Government.

To
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 8334 of 1932 dated the 9th September 1932 and to return the Hindi letter received therewith with its translation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)
Oriental Translator to Government.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 5760 of 1932
ARTHUR ROAD PRISON OFFICE
Bombay, 30th September 1932

From
The Superintendent,
Arthur Road Prison, Bombay ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency Poona.

Sir,

With reference to Head Office Confidential Letter No. 887 dated the 29th instant. Have the honour to state that the letters for Miss Slade were delivered to her as ordered.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.).....,
Superintendent,
Arthur Road Prison, Bombay.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 9082 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 30th September 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.
Regr. No. 1617
Dated 30th September 1932.

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

He is making satisfactory progress.

Pulse :—65 p.m. Full and regular.

He looks quite normal.

Yesterday's urine examination showed traces of albumen. This morning sample is free from it or any other abnormality.

His weight today is 100 lbs.

From yesterday he is allowed to sit up in a chair for some time daily.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy to P. S. G. & Secretary,
Home Department.

(Sd.)
30th September 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 893 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 30th September 1932

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Poona.
The Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Ganeshkhind, Poona.
Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

O.C.
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 9140 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 1st October 1932

From

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona ;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to Dr. Ansari and to enquire whether it may be allowed to go on.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

File No. 20-IX
No. 1627 of 1932
ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE
Secretariat, Bombay, 1st October 1932

From

Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esqr., J.P.,
Oriental Translator to Government;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to return the two Hindi letters, received with your letter No. 8712 of 1932 dated the 19th September 1932, together with their translation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A. K. M. HUSSAIN,
Oriental Translator to Government.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII
No. 9136 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 1st October 1932

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

His general condition is satisfactory.

Tongue Cleaner.

He is allowed to walk for a short time in the yard with the aid of a stick.

His urine examination showed presence of phosphates.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 9136 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 1st October 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Regr. No. 1624

Dated 1st October 1932.

Report on the state of health of Mr. M. K. Gandhi

His general condition is satisfactory.

Tongue Cleaner.

He is allowed to walk for a short time in the yard with the aid of a stick.

His urine examination shows presence of phosphates.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. _____ of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, October 1932

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Poona.
The Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Ganeshkhind, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

O.C.
(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-IX
No. 898 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 2nd October 1932

Forwarded with compliments to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison. With the request that State prisoner M. K. Gandhi should be informed that all his letters addressed to Miss Slade have been delivered.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 2
No. 9185 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE Dated
3rd October 1932

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona

Regr. No. 1643

Dated 3rd October 1932

Report on the state of health of State Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

His progress is very satisfactory and in our opinion daily health report is no more necessary.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd) N. B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 902 of 1932

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE

Poona, 3rd October 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Political), Poona.

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay,
Ganeshkhind, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

(Sd.),

Dated 4th October 1932.

For information

O.C.

(Sd.),

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,

for Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-XII

No. 9185 of 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE

Dated 3rd October, 1932

Report on the state of health of State Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

His progress is very satisfactory, and in our opinion daily health report is no more necessary.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd) N.B. MEHTA,
Major, I.M.S.,
Deputy Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.
File No. 20-IX
No. 9183 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 3rd October, 1932

Returned With compliments.
State prisoner M. K. Gandhi has been informed accordingly.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Dear Major Bhandari,

I beg to send herewith three telegrams one of which is addressed to the Zamorin, Calicut. Gandhiji desires that a copy of the telegram to the Zamorin should be given to the Associated Press. Will you kindly send the copy (enclosed herewith) to the Associated Press through your cycle peon ? Perhaps the Associated Press office would send their own peon here if you were to telephone them that you have an important communication to give them.

Dated 3rd October 1932.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MAHADEO DESAI.

A. P. I.

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following telegram to the Zamorin, Calicut on the termination of Mr. Gandhi's advice :

To ZAMORIN, Calicut.

" I recognised that Kelappan being under discipline was bound to receive my consent previous to fast and was bound in any case give fair notice of intention fast. These defects being pointed out he has bravely responded and broken fast which will be resumed of during three months after second instant temple is not opened. Kelappan's acceptance of my advice throws heavy responsibility on my shoulders perhaps even to the extent of sharing his fast if temple not opened to Avarna Hindus during period of suspension. May I expect you carry out your assurance and overcome all difficulties legal or otherwise in way of long deferred reform."

GANDHI.
File No. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

We are allowing Dr. Ambedkar to see Mr. Gandhi about untouchability— also Mrs. Naidu, and no one need be present. But the Superintendent should be asked to inform Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar that although Government are permitting these discussions, they cannot allow any reports of them

to find their way into the press, or any manifestos to be issued by Mr. Gandhi. Dr. Ambedkar is of course at liberty to inform his friends of the purport of the discussions, but he is not to quote Mr. Gandhi at *public* meetings. Unless these conditions are strictly observed, no further interviews can be permitted.

(Sd.) W. F. HUDSON,
Inspector-General of Prisons.
17th October 1932

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
18th October 1932

Dear Mr. Hudson,

You will, I hope, pardon this presumption.

The restriction you conveyed to Dr. Ambedkar and me in connection with his interview, I had no difficulty in understanding from the Government standpoint, It was faithfully carried out, and so far as I am concerned I shall breathe not a word to the public about it. But the threat conveyed at the end of your note was, I think, gratuitously offensive. You said that if either of us did not carry out the restriction, all such future interviews would be stopped. So far as I am concerned, it is easy enough for you to verify that I have meticulously observed the prison regulations. And the threat presupposes that such interviews are a concession, whereas in my opinion they are the necessary consequence of the Yeravda pact. Surely untouchability reform should be, if it is not, common cause between the Government and the people. Again a prison was assuredly not the place to spring upon Dr. Ambedkar, a free man, restrictions accompanied by a threat of which he was not informed in the telegram acceding to his request for an interview with Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and me.

May I in this personal note ask now for a definite reply to my letter of the 29th ultimo addressed to Major Bhandari and forwarded to the Home Department ? In view of your said memorandum, a clear definition of the Government policy has become doubly necessary. I hold it to be essential that I should be permitted to see people and carry on correspondence, strictly regarding untouchability, without let or hindrance. You may know that my fast is only suspended. It has to be resumed if the Hindu public do not play the game by the Harijans. My contact with the public therefore is inevitable if the reform is to be carried out in all its thoroughness. Sjt. A. V. Thakkar, the Secretary of the newly formed League, has already asked for instructions. I have informed him that I am awaiting clear definition of Government policy before I could send any instructions. I would therefore esteem an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

File No. 20-IX
No. 1736 of 1932
ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE
Secretariat, Bombay, 20th October 1932

From Abdul Kadir Muhammad Hussain, Esquire, J. P.,
Oriental Translator to Government.

To The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to return herewith a letter written in Gujarati received with your letter No. 9716 dated 13th instant, together with its translation into English.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A. K. M. HUSSAIN,
Oriental Translator to Government.

File No. 1
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS
Bombay Presidency,
Poona 20th October 1932

Dear Sir,

Col. Doyle C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S., has gone to Belgaum on tour and is likely to return to Poona tomorrow (evening) by car. If any immediate action on the D.O. is to be taken please intimate to me by phone and return the D.O. My office telephone No. 496.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)
S. R. CHOUBAL.

Submitted for orders.

(Sd.)

20th October.

P. A. to I. G. of prisons.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hudson says that the letter may await the arrival of Col. Doyle tomorrow.

Yours,
(Sd.)
20th October 1932

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMBER OF COUNCIL, BOMBAY

3, Queen's Gardens, Poona,
20th October 1932

My dear Doyle,

In continuation of my D.O. of today's date, I send you herewith copy of

a note which in your absence last Monday I sent to Major Bhandari. It is this note which Mr. Gandhi refers to in his letter to me.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)
W. F. HUDSON.

Lt-Col. E. E. Doyle, C.I.E.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMBER OF COUNCIL, BOMBAY

3, Queen's Gardens, Poona,
20th October 1932

My dear Doyle,

With reference to Mr. Gandhi's letter of September 29th to Major Bhandari and his letter to me of October 18th (copies enclosed for ready reference) will you kindly inform him that Government are prepared to allow him a reasonable number of interviews (with persons approved by them) in regard to untouchability. Similarly correspondence on this subject will be allowed, provided it is clearly understood that it is not reproduced in the public press.

As regards the first paragraph of his letter to me, will you remind him that as a result of one of his interviews the telegram to Mr. Shaukat Ali, which had *not* been passed for transmission, found its way into the newspapers.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd)
W. F. HUDSON.

Lt-Col. E. E. Doyle, CLE.,

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 958 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 22nd October 1932

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency ;

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to request that you will kindly notify State prisoner M. K. Gandhi that I am directed to inform him, in connection with his letters addressed to you and to the Hon'ble the Home Member, that Government are prepared to allow him a reasonable number of interviews (with persons approved by them) in regard to untouchability.

2. Similarly correspondence on this subject will be allowed, provided it is clearly understood that it is not reproduced in the press.

3. Also, as regards the first paragraph of his letter addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. W. F. Hudson, CLE., I.C.S., he should be reminded that as a result of one of his interviews the telegram to Mr. Shaukat Ali, which had *not* been passed for transmission found its way into the newspapers.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons.,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 959 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE
Poona, 22nd October 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Poona.
The Hon'ble Mr. W. F. Hudson, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Home Member,
Council Hall, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information with reference to his D.O. letter addressed to the I. G. of Prisons dated 20th October 1932.

(Sd.)
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. C. 56/11203 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 4th December 1932

From
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter addressed to you by State prisoner M. K. Gandhi. He has requested me to send it to you today.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 20-X
No. 208 of 1932
CENTRAL PRISON, HYDERABAD
Dated 5th December 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

Under instructions from the Inspector-General of prisons conveyed under his confidential No. 1103, dated 30th November 1932, I have the honour to inform you that one 'C' Class Civil Disobedience prisoner No. 14458, Chagganlal Nathubhai Joshi will be transferred to your prison on 7th instant.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)
Superintendent,
Central Prison. Hyderabad, Sind.

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. S.D. 7505
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)
Bombay, 9th December 1932

My dear Doyle,

With reference to your letter of the 8th December, forwarding a copy of a letter of the same date addressed to you by Gandhi, I am to request that you will inform Gandhi that as the Government of Bombay are not dealing

with the matter themselves his request for information has been passed on to the Government of India.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.

Lieut-Colonel E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1136 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 10th December 1932

MEMORANDUM

Please inform Mr. Gandhi that I have been directed by the Government of Bombay to inform him with reference to his letter of the 8th instant, addressed to me that as the Government of Bombay are not dealing with the matter themselves his request for information has been passed on to the Government of India.

(Sd.)
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

To
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1137 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 10th December 1932

To
The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.
Copy forwarded with compliments for information with reference to Home Department D.O.
No. S.D. 7505, dated 9th December 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

P/H

BY AIR MAIL

Danes Inn House
265, Strand, London, W. C. 2
16th December 1932

His Excellency,
The Governor of Bombay,
Bombay, (India).

Your Excellency,

It is necessary for me to pay a professional visit to India in the near future. I expect to reach Bombay about the 8th January by the steamer Victoria from Genoa. I may have to delay my departure by a fortnight. According to present arrangements I shall be leaving almost immediately for Madras *via* Poona, where I shall be staying at the Servants of India Society.

I am writing to enquire whether I may have Your Excellency's permission and authority to visit Mr. Gandhi in Yeravda Central Jail, should he still be imprisoned there at the time of my arrival. I have the privilege of being a very old friend and colleague of his when we were together in South Africa, and although our political paths have, in recent years, diverged, we still have the same affectionate relationship for each other as before. I do not propose to discuss with him any other matters than personal and family ones, or those that he may, under the jail regulations and the restrictions imposed upon him by the authorities, be confined to, such as the question of the removal of untouchability, to which he is devoting all his energies at the present time.

My permanent address in India will be, c/o The Imperial Indian Citizen-ship Association, Sohrab House, 235, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, whose representative in London I am.

Thanking Your Excellency in anticipation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) H. S. L. POLAR.

C/o M. R. Jayakar, Esquire,

Winter Road,

Malabar Hill, Bombay.

To

The Private Secretary to His Excellency
the Governor of Bombay.

Sir,

On the 16th December I addressed a letter from London to His Excellency, informing him that I am shortly leaving for India on a professional visit, and that I intended shortly after my arrival here, today, to leave for Madras *via* Poona.

In view of the very old association of friendship that my family and I have for many years had with him, irrespective of strong political differences, I requested His Excellency to grant me permission to interview Mahatma Gandhi at Yeravda Jail during my short stay in Poona, in order to discuss with him personal and family affairs and such other matters as he may, under the jail regulations and the restrictions imposed upon him by the authorities, be confined to, such as the question of the removal of untouchability.

I gave my addresses in Bombay and in Poona, but so far I have received no acknowledgment of or reply to my letter.

As I am leaving here tomorrow night for a short visit to Ajanta and proceed thence to Poona, where from Thursday noon until Saturday night I shall be staying at the Servants of India Society, I shall be very grateful for a reply whether or not His Excellency is willing to grant my request. Thanking you, therefore, for the favour of an early reply.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sd.) H. S. L. POLAK.

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. S.D. 7713
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)
Bombay, 22nd December 1932

Dear Colonel Doyle,

In continuation of my confidential demi-official letter No. S.D. 7505 of the 9th December, I am desired to request that you will inform Mr. Gandhi that an intimation has been received from the Government of India in reply to his letter of the 8th December that they issued an express letter to all local Governments on the 10th December asking for their opinions on the points raised, and that they will take steps to see that the consideration of this question is not delayed.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)

Lieut-Colonel E. E. Doyle, C.I.E., D.S.O., I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1173 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 28th December 1932

MEMORANDUM

In continuation of this office Confidential No. 1136, dated the 10th December 1932 please inform Mr. Gandhi that I have been directed by the Government of Bombay to inform him that an intimation has been received from the Government of India in reply to his letter of the 8th December that they issued an express letter to all local Governments on the 10th December

asking for their opinions on the points raised and that they will take steps to see that the consideration of this question is not delayed.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

To
The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1174 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Dated 28th December 1932

To
The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information in continuation of this office Confidential No. 1137, dated 10th December 1932 and with reference to his Confidential DO. No. S.D. 7713 dated 22nd December 1932.

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. C. 92/11901 of 1932
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 30th December 1932

From
The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

To
The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,
I have the honour to send herewith a telegram from State prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to His Excellency, the Viceroy, for favour of disposal.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

URGENT

No. 1180 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
30th December 1932

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Bombay.
Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.),
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

(Sd.) E. E. Doyle.
5th January 1933.

P.S.V.

VICEROY'S CAMP

Reluctant as I am to say something to Government regarding proposed Bill framed by Dr. Subbarayan and forwarded for Viceregal sanction by Madras Government perhaps His Excellency expects me to submit my views thereat, so as to help him to correct decision. Stop. Bill proposes no innovation in Hindu belief Stop. On contrary it seeks carry out requirements of Hindu Shastras in accordance with opinion held by Pandits acknowledged to be well versed in Sanskrit religious lore Stop. It seeks to restore *status quo* as it existed before British Courts enforced what was held by some to be ancients practice in Malabar and thus clothed it with force of law and it does so by amending Religious Endowments Act of Madras which in itself was considerable interference with then prevailing practice Stop. Bill embodies unanimously expressed wish of Madras Legislative Council through its recent resolution Stop. It seeks to render tardy justice to vast number of Hindus who have been arbitrarily deprived of right to religious consolation equal with other Hindus. Stop. It seeks but to carry out repeated declarations of His Majesty's Government to afford protection to untouchables Stop. Not to sanction measure will be tantamount to contradiction of those declarations and encouragement to forces of reaction Stop Seeing that Bill is in response to movement that set in as direct result of Yeravda Pact Government of India are in my opinion morally bound not in any way to kinder movement which they will obviously do if they block Bill Stop. Bill is merely permission measure in that it makes opening of temples to Harijans dependent upon wishes of majority of those at present entitled to offer worship in particular temple. Stop. To these considerations I would add this very material fact that if orthodox opinion must carry weight opinion of four crores of Harijans which must be assumed to be in favour of Bill should carry greater weight not to speak of demand of ever increasing numbers

of reformers. A word is necessary here regarding fast that was to commence on second January next if Guruvayur temple was not opened before then Stop. If fast were to be taken on that date it could not but embarrass Government Stop. After consultation with Kelappan therefore I have announced that it would be indefinitely postponed Stop. But it might have to be taken if for lack of decisive expression of public opinion sanction is withheld or some unforeseen but avoidable cause occurs which may present opening of Guruvayur temple Stop. I may state that public agitation has been purposely kept in abeyance under belief that case for Viceregal sanction was unanswerable Stop. But in view of growing agitation on part of Sanatanists I have suggested organisation of meetings and the like for expression of public opinion in support of Bill Stop. But I do feel that it would be better if agitation one way or other over mere question of Viceregal sanction can be avoided Stop. I therefore hope that Viceregal sanction will soon be announced for introduction of Dr. Subbarayans Bill in Madras Legislative Council Stop. I am not sending this telegram for publication Stop. But of course I can have no objection to its publication if His Excellency desires it.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.
30th December 1932

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1181
Poona, 30th December 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Reference his No. C/92/11901 dated 30th December 1932. The telegram of State prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to H. E. Viceroy has this day been forwarded to Bombay Government for disposal.

(Sd.),
P.A.
for Inspector-General of Police.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 15 of 1932
SABARMATI CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated, December 1932

From

Major R. T. Advani, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Ahmedabad C Prison;

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter with translation in English written by ' C ' Class prisoner No. 4206 to State prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

If the latter prisoner is allowed to receive communications from other prisoners on the subject of removal of untouchability, the letter may kindly be forwarded to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison for issue to the prisoner.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
(Sd.) R. T. ADVANI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Ahmedabad Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1182 of 1932
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE
Poona, 31st December 1932

To

The Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments with a request that the attached letter may be delivered to M. K. Gandhi.

(Sd.) S. R. CHOUBAL,
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,
for Inspector-General of Prison,
Bombay Presidency.

Please return through the Superintendent, A. C Prison.

No. C. 93 of 1933
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE
Dated 30th January 1933

Returned with compliments through the Superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,
Major, I.M.S.,
Superintendent,
Yeravda Central Prison.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY

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